


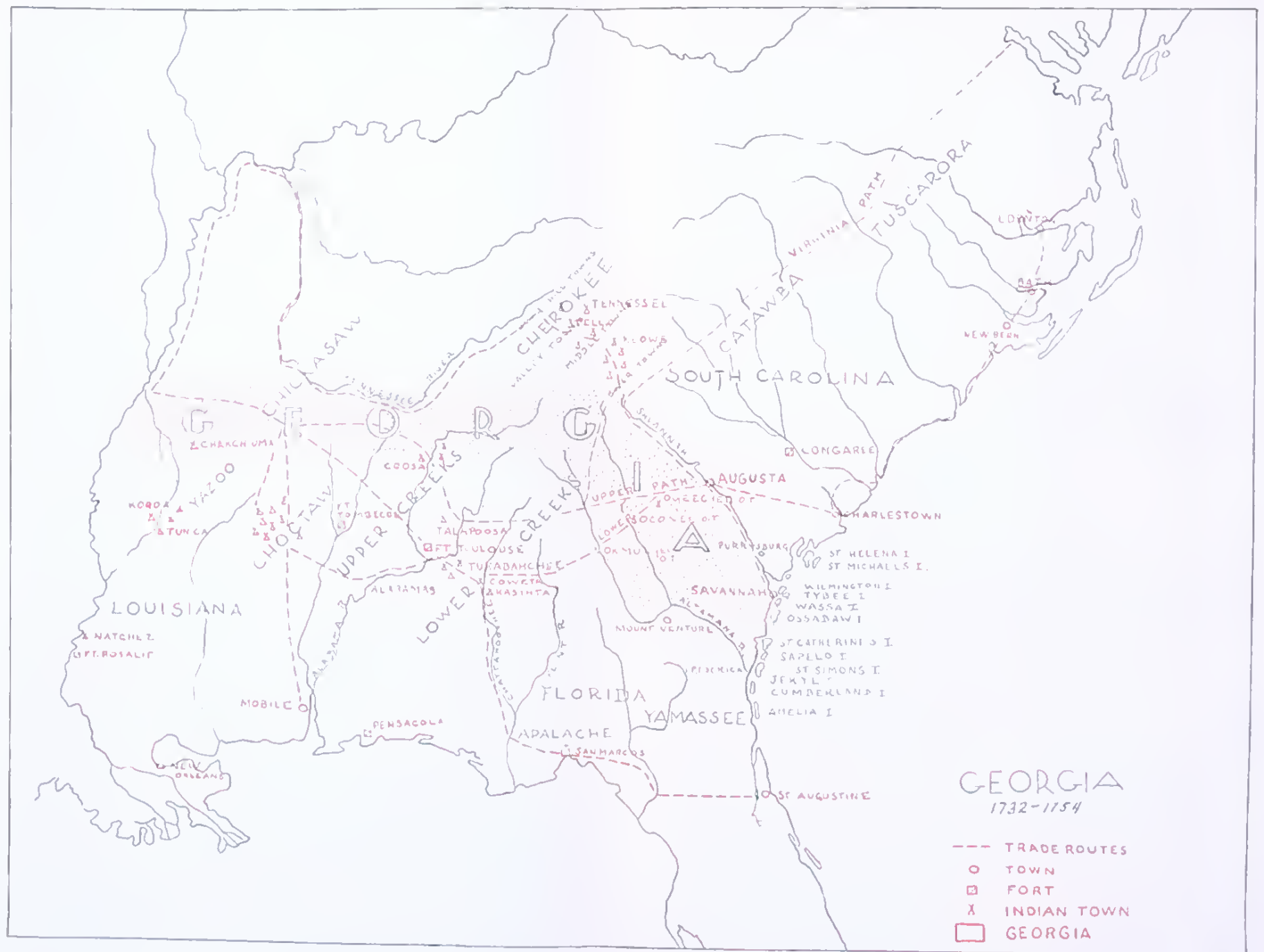
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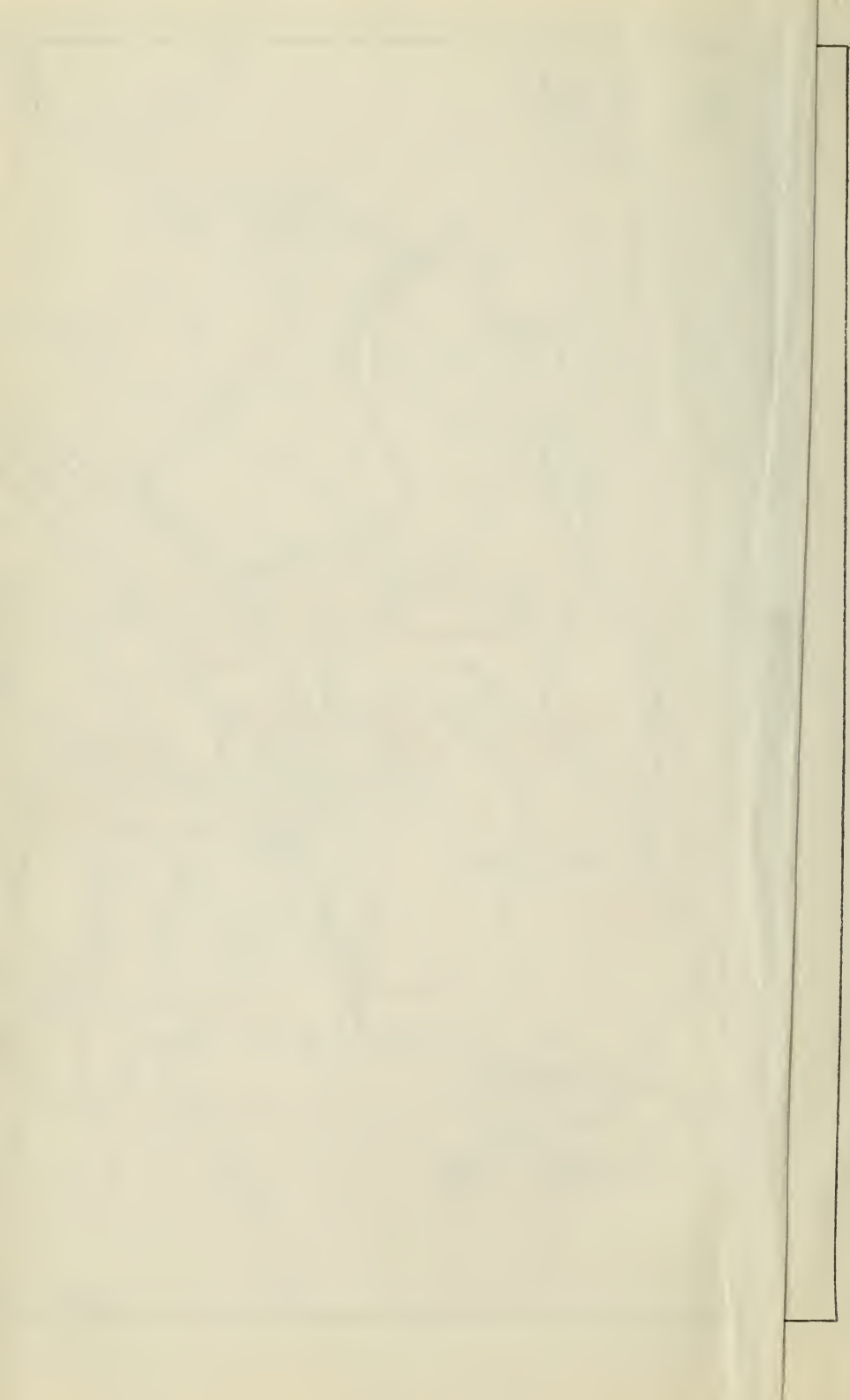
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INDIAN AFFAIRS IN GEORGIA

1732-1756

By

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Ed. Allen White Corry

TO MY WIFE
ESTHER ALLEN WHITE CORRY

Ed. Allen White Corry 1907

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PREFACE

This essay tells in part the story of the clash of three rival international ambitions: the claims of Spain to the Georgia country, the grand design of the French to link Louisiana and Canada by a chain of forts and trading posts and thus encircle the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and the sturdy westward expansion of the English in the south.

Into this region of international rivalry there was projected the buffer colony of Georgia. It is the purpose of this book to trace the part played by Georgia in this triangular rivalry of England, France and Spain and to make clear the role of the Indians in this conflict both as friends in trade and as allies or enemies in war.

In the past twenty years, colonial Georgia and the neighboring region have attracted merited attention from scholars. Nearly two decades ago, McCain wrote his *Georgia as a proprietary province*, a pioneer monograph which was soon followed by other works in the same field. Swanton's studies of the Creeks and other southern Indian tribes shed new light on the red men of the south. In 1925, Bolton and Ross published their stimulating book, *The Debatable Land*, which sketched the history of Spain's title to Georgia. The writings of Professor Bolton himself and of his students, especially Mary Ross and J. G. Johnson, have cast new light on the Spanish period of Georgia history. Coulter's articles in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and his scholarly *A Short History of Georgia* are of much value to the student of colonial Georgia affairs. Most valuable of all in providing the background for the present thesis is Verner W. Crane's *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732*. This excellent study stresses the importance of the Anglo-French rivalry for the control of the southeast, and provides a detailed analytical study of Indian affairs on the southern frontier before 1732.

My debts of gratitude for aid received in the preparation of this work are many, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge them. I have

received much assistance from librarians and archivists at the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania Library, the American Philosophical Society, the Yale University Library, the New York Public Library, the Wymberley Jones DeRenne Georgia Library, the Georgia Historical Society Library, the Emory University Library, and elsewhere. Miss Ruth Blair, State Historian of Georgia, was most kind in placing at my disposal the resources of the Department of Archives of my native state. Mr. Alexander S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, aided me in my research in the South Carolina archives. I am indebted to the late Dr. Herman V. Ames, to the late Dr. A. E. McKinley, to Dr. Roy F. Nichols, and to Dr. Leonidas Dodson, all of the University of Pennsylvania, for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis. I am especially grateful to Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat, under whose direction this thesis was written, for his aid in its progress. His criticisms have been stimulating and constructive, and his patience without limit. My greatest debt of gratitude is to my wife, Esther Allen White Corry.

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CHAPTER I

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEST FOR THE SOUTHEAST BEFORE 1732

The Indian played a role of tremendous importance in the history of colonial Georgia. Three powers, Britain, France and Spain were encroaching on his territory, and while they were colonizing his land they were at the same time using him to further their own ends and to defeat those of their enemies. These ends were trade and expansion. The fur trade, especially in deerskins, was very valuable, and each power wished to gather to itself as much as possible of the profits from this traffic. Keen rivalry existed among the three great foreign powers, each using every possible means to induce the Indian to trade with it and exclusively with it. The white men used the Indians also in their plans for expansion. The Indian was at one and the same time ally, mercenary soldier, interpreter, spy and enemy for all three powers. We shall see in this study how these powers used the Indian for their ends of trade and expansion. We shall see which power used him the most successfully, and what the various conflicts were during the twenty-five years with which we are dealing. Naturally in this period it will be the British relations with the Indian with which we are to be chiefly concerned, but we shall see how France and Spain also looked after their own interests and fought those of their rivals.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English were pushing down from the north, where they already had been entrenched for nearly a century. The Spanish were creeping in from the southeast, from Florida, and the islands of the West Indies, while the French were pushing up from the south and west. The

region thus had three frontiers, the Anglo-Spanish, the Anglo-French and the Franco-Spanish. On each of these frontiers there was conflict between the two powers concerned, yet in each case it was only one of a series of such struggles that these three colonizing powers were carrying on throughout eastern America.

Thus the border war between the Spanish in Florida and the English to the north of the wilderness that was to become Georgia was but one unit in the series of colonial contests between these two traditional rivals. Wherever the northward moving empire of Spain came into contact with the southward reaching frontier of England there was conflict. The first encounter had been in the Caribbean where the Spanish control, long undisturbed, was at last challenged by the English. Other contests had been fought out in Louisiana and in Texas. All of these were of the same general character, differing only in detail and circumstance: the clash of rival frontiers, representing different ideals and methods.

The border conflicts between Spain and England, on the mainland and in the West Indies, were of unequal importance to Spain. The West Indies were extremely valuable in themselves, and also because they kept open the routes of the treasure ships on their way from Mexico and Peru to Spain. It was of tremendous importance that these sea paths be guarded, and Spain was willing to go to any expense and trouble to keep them clear. The colonies on the continent, on the other hand, were valuable chiefly as a barrier against the English and the French. Besides affording protection for Mexico's mines they also prevented the foreigners from expanding farther south. Because of this they were worth their cost. These colonies were, for Spain, as Georgia was later to be for England, merely buffer colonies.

The Spaniards were the first to reach the region which later became Georgia and the first to colonize it. Hardly had St. Augustine been founded in 1565 before the restless Spaniards were extending their power northward along the Georgia coast to which they gave the name of Guale.¹ Their first settlement was made on St. Catherine's Island where they established a military outpost in April 1566, and it was no time before Spanish missions were

¹ See Bolton, H. E., and Ross, Mary, *The Debatable Land*, p. 1.

dotting the coastline from St. Augustine to Port Royal, in what was to become South Carolina. For over a century the Spanish title to Guale was unchallenged, their peaceful penetration broken only by the Yamassee revolt of 1597 when the Indians bore down and destroyed the missions.² This however was only an episode, for the very next year rebuilding of the missions began and eight years later the chain had been reforged stronger than ever,³ holding Guale in a Spanish grip which was not disturbed again for fifty years.

But at last the English, the inevitable and ubiquitous English, appeared to challenge the Spanish rule.⁴ Virginia had been too far away from St. Augustine and the Guale missions to cause the Spaniards much concern. But when Carolina began to be settled the situation changed decidedly. The English were coming too close and Spain protested loudly. There was justice in this protest since the Carolina grant which the English king made took in territory which Spanish soldiers and missionaries had occupied for more than a hundred years. Charleston however was settled in the face of Spanish protest and eventually, in the treaty of 1670, signed at Madrid, the two nations reached a compromise. By its terms the Spaniards recognized Charleston and all territory to the northward as legally English, while the English on their part acknowledged the right of Spain to all lands south of Charleston. Had this treaty been observed the international contest for Guale would have ended in 1670. But it was not. The Carolinians came in large part from Barbados and brought with them to their new home on the mainland the memories of many cruelties and wrongs

² Johnson, J. G., "The Yamassee Revolt of 1597 and the Destruction of the Georgia Missions," in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* (hereinafter cited as *Ga. Hist. Quar.*), VII (1923), pp. 44-53.

³ Ross, Mary, "The Restoration of Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1606," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, X (1926), pp. 171-199.

⁴ A number of illuminating articles and translations of official letters on the Spanish era in Georgia have appeared in *Ga. Hist. Quar.* For these, see bibliography under Anderson, J. R.; Bolton, H. E.; Johnson, J. G.; Reding, Katherine; Ross, Mary. See also Johnson, J. G., *The Spanish Period of Georgia and South Carolina History 1566-1762*, Bulletin of the University of Georgia, Special Series, Studies, No. 1, May, 1923; and *The Colonial Southeast 1732-1763; an International Contest for Territorial and Economic Control*, in *University of Colorado Studies*, XIX, pp. 163-225.

suffered at the hands of the Spaniards. The bitterness of this old conflict in the Caribbean was carried over into the Carolina-Florida wars.⁵

The English coming to Carolina in 1670 had found the Spaniards in possession of the coast from St. Augustine northward to St. Catherine's Island, a Guale outpost they had held since 1597. Almost immediately the newcomers began to press the Spaniards back and succeeded so well that step by step the frontier retreated southward. In 1680, aided by some Yamasee Indians whom they had won to their support, the Carolinians made an attack against the mission on St. Catherine's itself. Captain Fuentes, captain of the guard, defended the place so vigorously that after besieging the Spaniards for a day the Carolinians gave up and went home. The Indians of the mission had been so badly frightened, however, that they deserted the island and fled southward at once. They were closely followed by the Spaniards. Captain Fuentes withdrew his men to Sapelo Island which now became Spain's northern outpost in Guale.

Pirate raids next threatened Guale. In 1683, the English freebooter Agramont descended on the coast and destroyed a number of the Spanish missions, and the following year Hinckley, another British pirate, visited the hapless Spaniards with attendant destruction.⁶ The damage wrought by these incursions was so great that the abandonment of the missions was considered, but the Spaniards taking heart decided against this move.

The next step in the English offensive was taken by the Scots, who had founded a colony at Port Royal.⁷ Lord Cardross, the governor of the colony, outfitted an Indian raiding party which swept down on the Spanish missions west of St. Augustine. This step was unfortunate for the English, because in 1686 the Spaniards retaliated and wiped out the colony at Port Royal altogether. Nevertheless the presence of the English was becoming so annoying that Governor Cabrera thought it prudent to withdraw the Spanish

⁵ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 5.

⁶ *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, edited by Bolton, H. E., p. 39.

⁷ For an excellent account of this colony, see Insh, George P., *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, Chap. VI.

line to Amelia Island.⁸ The Spanish retreat from Guale had been slow but steady.

While English pressure was being exerted in the coast region it was making itself felt no less surely in what was to be western Georgia. Missions which the Spaniards had established on the Chattahoochee were being threatened by the coming of Carolina traders. The Spaniards tried to check this invasion in 1689 by building a fort on the Chattahoochee, hoping also to gain prestige with the Lower Creek Indians by this move. But the effect was quite the reverse. The Indians had already begun to prefer the English because of their superior trading goods and now gave them protection. Most of the lower Creeks left their homes on the Chattahoochee, and went to settle on the Ocmulgee with their friends the Uchis and nearer their friends the English. The Spanish fort on the Chattahoochee was of little further use. In 1691 the Spaniards themselves destroyed it and withdrew to St. Augustine, but the English traders stayed on, and their traffic with the Creeks, especially in Indian slaves from other inferior tribes, grew in volume.

Continued English aggression drove the Spanish frontier still farther south, from the St. Mary's river to the St. John's. In 1702 Governor Moore of South Carolina led a formidable expedition against St. Augustine itself and came perilously near to success. He actually took the city but when he was unable to capture the fortress outside, retreated. Moore next struck at the Spanish missions in the Creek country, and in the face of opposition all but annihilated them. Of the fourteen Spanish missions thirteen were destroyed by his soldiers and the fourteenth was spared only because it paid a suitable ransom.⁹ The Spanish had been dealt a crushing blow and from this time to the end of Queen Anne's war the English were supreme among the lower Creeks.

Thus far the story had been one of almost unbroken triumph for the English but now there came a startling and unexpected

⁸ *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, edited by Bolton, H. E., p. 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

reverse. The Yamassee Indians, gradually embittered by the treatment accorded them by English authorities and traders, and particularly by the continued sale of rum to their young braves, struck suddenly and hard at the Carolina settlements.¹⁰ The first attack took the English entirely by surprise and two hundred whites fell victim to the Indians. With courage though with difficulty the Carolinians rode out the storm.¹¹ Governor Craven, undismayed by the widespread character of the revolt, in person led an expedition against the Yamassees and brought the whooping savages to submission. By the end of 1716 peace had been once more restored.

The Yamassee war however had given the Spaniards an opportunity to rebuild their shattered alliances with the Creeks. These Indians had naturally lost much of their liking for the English and turned once more to listen to Spanish overtures. A delegation of forty chiefs from the Lower Creeks appeared at Pensacola and were warmly welcomed by the Spaniards there.¹² A smaller delegation of seven chiefs of the Upper Creeks journeyed to Mexico where they were likewise well received. Both of these embassies left pledging their respective tribes to friendship with the Spaniards.

The English hold on the red men had been much shaken by the frightful Yamassee war but it had not been completely broken, and the Carolinians after 1716 set resolutely to work to win back the friendship of the Creeks. For ten years an even contest for the favor of these Indians went on, with advantage falling first one way and then the other. Old Brims, the "Emperor" of the Creeks, was inclined to support the English cause, but his son, known to the English as Seepeycoffee, was loyal to Spanish interests and the tribe followed in his train. At the start the Spaniards held the upper hand, but eventually in spite of discord the better trading goods of the English began to tell once more. In 1726, President

¹⁰ For an excellent account of the Yamassee War, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Chap. VII, "The Yamassee War, 1715-1716."

¹¹ Carroll, B. R., *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I, Chap. V contains a sketch of the Yamassee War of 1715-1716.

¹² *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, edited by Bolton, H. E., p. 64.

Middleton¹³ sent Tobias Fitch to the red men as the official representative of South Carolina.¹⁴ He made several journeys between Charleston and the Creek towns and exerted every effort to win the natives to an alliance with the English, holding conference after conference with the Creek chiefs. His task was made difficult by the appearance of a Spanish delegation at the same time to present a counter plea for their countrymen, but in the end Fitch was successful. Aided by the old emperor he induced Seepeycoffee to change his allegiance and declare friendship for the Carolinians. The scales had definitely tipped toward the English. The Creeks were their allies and the Spaniards henceforth had to rely solely on the aid of the Yamassees.

All the while this bit of forest diplomacy was going on the British were considering another move of prime importance, the setting up of a buffer colony for Carolina in the Guale country. In 1717 Sir Robert Montgomery, a Scottish baronet, presented to the Carolina proprietors his fantastic scheme for setting up the Margravate of Azilia. This was intended to occupy the land between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, that is, the exact region which later became Georgia. Montgomery's plan was to establish fortified township settlements in Azilia, with servants to do the heavy work and gentlemen to direct their labors. At the head of all was to be the Margrave. The purpose of the colony was to defend the southern frontier while at the same time it served as a source of supply for raw products. This plan was never seriously considered, since it was too impractical for use.¹⁵ Then in 1721 Colonel John Barnwell was dispatched to the Altamaha, by Governor Francis Nicholson of South Carolina, to build there Fort King George.¹⁶ This he did, but the Spaniards could not view such aggression calmly. Governor Benavides of Floria protested

¹³ For a list of the governors of South Carolina under royal government, see McCrady, E., *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776*, Appendix, pp. 799-800.

¹⁴ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, pp. 268-270; Mereness, N. D., *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 175.

¹⁵ See Crane, V. W., "Projects for Colonization in the South, 1684-1732," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (hereinafter cited as *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*), XII (June, 1925), pp. 23-35.

¹⁶ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, pp. 235-237.

to Governor Nicholson, the dispute was referred to the home governments and a diplomatic controversy ensued in Europe with much correspondence between the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the southern department, and Don Jacinto Pozobueno, Spanish Minister at London. Neither side would give in and the controversy was finally dropped in 1725. However in 1727 the Carolinians abandoned their fort because of lack of supplies, thus admitting the failure of their plan for a buffer on the Altamaha.

One of the most striking events in the Indian history of South Carolina was the mission of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Cherokees in 1730. This Scottish baronet was on an unofficial mission to South Carolina in 1729-1730. He resolved to pay a visit to the Cherokees which should be both a scientific search for minerals and a political move to attach the Cherokees more firmly to England. At the Cherokee village of Keowee Sir Alexander suddenly appeared before the Indians assembled in the townhouse, and persuaded the Cherokees to kneel and drink the health of the British king. This ceremony Cuming considered as a formal acknowledgment of submission to the English. He made a flying trip through several other Cherokee towns and at Nequasse Town he held a conference with the Cherokee leaders. There Moy Toy, head-warrior of Great Tellico, was crowned emperor. At Cumings' request, six Indians, two of them chiefs, were named to accompany the baronet back to England, and a seventh was later added. The best known of this group was the Little Carpenter. At Charleston Cuming and the Indian delegation took ship for London, where their visit was a nine-days wonder. The effect of Cuming's mission on the Cherokees was most salutary for the English. It restored these Indians to friendship with South Carolina at a time when they were ready to go to war against the colony.

The need for a buffer to protect the southern frontier of South Carolina, together with other considerations, led to the founding of Georgia. Oglethorpe¹⁷ planted his colony on the banks of the Savannah in 1733. A permanent English settlement was thus

¹⁷ A well written account of Oglethorpe by Ettinger, A. A., is in *Dictionary of America Biography* XIV, pp. 1-3. See also Wright, Robert, *A Memoir of General James Oglethorpe* (1867); Bruce, Henry, *Life of General Oglethorpe* (1890); Church, L. F. *Oglethorpe* (1932).

made at last in the region between the Savannah and the Altamaha.

While the English were carrying on their border war with the Spaniards, they were at the same time engaging in a similar contest with the French. Wherever the advance of the French settlements met that of the English colonies a frontier struggle was inevitable. Such contests occurred in the Caribbean, in Canada, in Western Pennsylvania and western Virginia as well as in western Carolina and western Georgia with which we are concerned. These Anglo-French clashes were units in a series just as were the Anglo-Spanish encounters.

For years before Louisiana was established as a colony the Gulf coast had had an interest for Frenchmen. The explorations of Father Marquette and Joliet in 1673 had stirred the French to thoughts of settlement, and though conditions were not then propitious, twelve years later La Salle had planted his short-lived colony on Garcitas Creek near Matagorda Bay in Texas. La Salle however had been assassinated by one of his own men, and the ill starred colony destroyed by the hostile coast Indians. Nothing more was done until a decade and a half later, when Iberville made his settlement at Biloxi in 1699. The history of Louisiana as a colony dates from that event, which marked the start of Anglo-French rivalry in the Gulf region.¹⁸

France soon became involved in the War of the Spanish Succession, and had need for all her resources in Europe. It is not surprising that the new colony grew slowly, and that its population was small. Mobile was founded in 1702 and made the capital of the province. It served from the start as the French base for negotiations with the Indians, a role it continued to play as long as Louisiana was under French control.

In 1712 Louis XIV granted Louisiana to Antoine Crozat for fifteen years. The need of money which the War of the Spanish Succession had brought about was the reason for the grant. The new proprietor took his responsibility seriously and made an honest

¹⁸ Dunn, W. E., *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, pp. 8-47; see Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, for a study of the Alabama-Tombigbee basin.

effort to develop his new possession. Lamothe Cadillac, the new governor, arrived in 1713, but his services did not meet the approval of Crozat and he was removed in 1716. The following year Crozat surrendered his charter to the Regent of France, realizing that the development of so extensive a territory was a task not suitable for a private individual.

Though Crozat had had heavy expenses and small returns during the five years of his proprietorship, other speculators were willing to take over Louisiana. In 1717 the Scottish adventurer, John Law, formed with royal sanction an association called at first the Mississippi Company, but soon known as the Company of the Indies.¹⁹ This company promised to send to Louisiana six hundred white settlers and three hundred negroes. Law's speculative scheme stirred up a fever of excitement, and the stock of the Company rose to forty times its former value. The Mississippi Bubble reached the bursting point in 1720 and Law was forced to flee. The Company continued to hold Louisiana until 1731, when the crown took it over, and Louisiana became a royal colony. During the time of the Company the Illinois district which had been a part of Canada was attached to Louisiana. New Orleans had been founded in 1718 and four years later had been made the seat of government for the whole colony, which it continued to be, under the rule of the crown, until 1767 when Louisiana was transferred to Spain.

The clash between Louisiana and Carolina before the founding of Georgia, and later between Louisiana and Georgia, was the meeting of two trading frontiers, the first phase of which had its origin in trade rivalry between Mobile and Charleston.²⁰ This rivalry centered around four great Indian nations: the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, the Creeks and the Cherokees. The Chickasaws

¹⁹ Heinrich, Pierre, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*, recognizes the importance of the rivalry between the French in Louisiana and the Carolina traders.

²⁰ On the early activities of the French in Georgia, see Ross, Mary, "French Intrusions and Indian Uprisings in Georgia and South Carolina (1577-1580)," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, VII, (1923), pp. 251-281; Ross, Mary, "The French on the Savannah, 1605," *ibid.*, VIII, (1924), pp. 167-194; Crane, V. W., "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," in *The American Historical Review* (hereinafter cited as *Amer. Hist. Rev.*), XXIV, (1919), pp. 379-395.

were loyal allies of the English throughout our entire period. The Choctaws on the other hand had allied themselves with the French in 1702 and from that time onward they were, in general, enemies of Carolina and Georgia. The Creeks were a variable quantity and their friendship was strenuously sought after by both English and French. In 1717, the French planted Fort Toulouse at the forks of the Alabama to strengthen their influence with the Creeks. This fort was to prove a troublesome thorn in the side of English traders for years to come. In spite of its influence, however, the Creeks usually leaned towards the English. The Cherokees were less fickle than the Creeks. In 1730 the seven Cherokees who visited London signed a treaty of alliance with the English, and from that date until the end of our period the majority of the Cherokees sided with the English.

However, in 1729 the French suffered a serious blow. There began the long and disastrous Natchez war, which was later to involve the Chickasaws and was to drag on and on until the French surrender of Louisiana in 1763. It was a fortunate war from the English viewpoint, for it so absorbed the French that they were in no position to contest the settlement of Georgia.

Like the Anglo-Spanish and the Anglo-French struggles, the Franco-Spanish conflict was but one in a long series.²¹ Such border wars took place in the Caribbean, in Texas, and in Florida. The contest in Florida had been preceded by the activities there of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonniere, which resulted in the planting of a French Huguenot colony on the St. Johns river in Florida. In 1565 this colony was destroyed by the Spaniards under Pedro Menendez de Aviles. This had been a religious quarrel and did not mark the start of conflict between the two states as such. More significant was the French settlement of Santo Domingo. The Spaniards had long claimed the island, but French adventurers visited it, French buccaneers resorted to it and gradually French settlers began to go there to live. When the Company of the West Indies was organized in 1664, Louis XIV gave the duty of governing these recent colonists to the French governor of Tortuga. Additional settlers were sent out from France and, despite the old

²¹ See Dunn, W. E., *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, p. 5.

Spanish claims, the northern half of the island became a French possession. The Spanish, fearing that a similar course would be followed in the mainland with Santa Domingo used as a half way stop between France and America, began to turn a watchful eye on the wilderness of the Mississippi region. The annexation of Santo Domingo was not to repeat itself if the Spanish could help it.

Occupation of the Mississippi region was a move that the Spanish, also, had long considered. Florida stood as an outpost in the east, while New Mexico had been occupied as a buffer in the west. The planting of a post between was a natural step for Spain to take, and had the cost not been so great it is likely that this would have been done much earlier. But establishing and maintaining a colony was expensive, and Spain let the matter wait until a rival threatened, as we know the French did in the LaSalle expedition.²²

In spite of the failure of LaSalle's project, fear of French colonization remained in Spanish minds. They determined to protect their interests in the Mississippi region, and their first defensive move was the founding of missions among the Texas Indians.²³ This project was begun in 1689, but after five years of hopeless struggle had to be abandoned. The Indians had been intractable and unconvertable. The second defensive move, and a more successful one, was the founding of Pensacola. The Spanish king had issued a royal order in 1694 directing the occupation of Pensacola Bay, and in 1698 Arriola, a prominent Spanish naval officer, sailed from Vera Cruz to make the settlement.²⁴ In the following month, November, the Spaniards occupied Pensacola Bay. But this was not sufficient to stop the French, for as soon as the signing of the treaty of Ryswick left Louis XIV free to devote himself once more to colonial expansion he ordered the Iberville expedition. Louisiana began as a French colony, and Mobile was founded where it could watch with hostile eyes across Mobile bay in the direction of Pensacola.

²² For a "Translation of Marquette and Joliet's account of a Voyage to Discover the Mississippi River, in 1673," see French, B. F., *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, II, pp. 279-297.

²³ Dunn, W. E., *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, Chap. VI.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-184.

It is hardly necessary to point out that while Pensacola and Mobile lay outside the limits of Georgia their spheres of influence extended well up into the Georgia territory. Pensacola, as the base for Spanish trading and missionary operations into western Georgia, was the place which the Indians looked on as Spanish headquarters. In a similar way, the French using Mobile as a base controlled the Alabama-Tombigbee basin. Thus, rivalry between France and Spain in the southeast continued, not only in Florida and Louisiana but also in Georgia, and part of the Franco-Spanish frontier lay well within the limits of the territory with which we are concerned.

So we have Georgia, a region of triple frontiers, occupied chiefly by Indian nations, but looked on with covetous eyes by three European powers which were gradually creeping in on it. It was natural that the relations of these powers with the Indians should assume prime importance. The Indians, though but ignorant savages, were in possession and thus in a position to make or break European plans of colonization. Their friendship and goodwill were vital, and this friendship and this goodwill, as we have already noted and shall see later in detail, had a way of shifting like the sands of the seashore with any diplomatic wind that stirred.

CHAPTER II

GEORGIA AND THE INDIAN TRADE

The colony of Georgia founded under Oglethorpe was a peculiar one with a unique system of government, and since the relations of Georgia with the Indians frequently hinged on this government it is well to understand clearly how and why this colony was organized. The prime reason, as has already been mentioned, was to form a buffer for South Carolina against the French and the Spaniards,¹ but there were other motives that prompted the crown to grant the Georgia charter, notably a desire to relieve unemployment in London, a hope of creating in Georgia a market for English manufactures and a possible source of supply for raw materials.² These were the underlying purposes of the crown. The motives of the Trustees who laid the plans for the Georgia colony were somewhat different. They dreamed of establishing in the New World a haven of refuge for debtors from the Fleet and the Marshalsea prisons, a cradle of liberty for oppressed Continental Protestants, and a land of opportunity for the poor and needy of all classes. It was from the combination of these motives that the charter of Georgia was drawn up.³

One of the leaders in the movement to found Georgia was Dr. Thomas Bray, well known as the founder of the Society for the

¹ Colonial Records of Georgia, MS (hereinafter cited as Ga. C. R. (MS)), XXXI, p. 331.

² The Georgia charter sets forth the reasons for the establishment of the colony. For the charter see Candler, A. D. (ed.), *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (hereinafter cited as *Ga. C. R.*), I, pp. 11-26. An excellent account of the genesis of Georgia may be found in Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Chap. XIII, "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia." See also Dr. Crane's earlier article, "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (1921-1922), pp. 63-69. The Trustees continued for years to meet with Dr. Bray's Associates. S.P.G.—Dr. Bray's Associates MSS—Minute Books, I, (1735-1768), p. 14. L. C. Transcripts.

³ McCain, J. R., *Georgia as a proprietary province, the execution of a trust*, is an excellent monograph on its subject.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Bray also founded a third religious society under the authority of the Anglican Church, the Associates of Dr. Bray. After Bray's death in 1730, this organization, now called the Associates of the late Dr. Bray, became the parent organization of the Georgia Trustees.⁴ Oglethorpe and Egmont were both members of the original society. The Associates and the Trustees maintained a separate existence, but they continued for years to be closely related. The two bodies met together each year down to 1750, usually in March, to hear the anniversary sermons which were preached in honor of Dr. Bray.

The charter which George II granted in 1732 to the Georgia Trustees, like the charters of many of the other mainland colonies, gave to the new province more territory than was needed by the colonists. Georgia was to include the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, and was to extend westward from the heads of these rivers in direct lines to the Pacific. The colonial Georgians settled on the seacoast and along the rivers of the colony, and there was a wide discrepancy between the area actually occupied and that granted in the Georgia charter. Nearly all of the settlements in Georgia during our period were made in the tide-water section of the province.

As a buffer colony, faced by the Spaniards in the south and the French in the west, the first necessity of this new colony was military strength. The potential defense value of each colonist had to be considered. Moreover, though many of the colonists were sturdy and self reliant, many others, because of the philanthropic nature of the venture, needed guidance and protection.⁵ It was necessary therefore to take steps which, while curtailing the liberty

⁴ Crane, V. W., "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, (1921-1922), pp. 63-69. See also Jones, C. C., Jr., "The English Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1752," in Winsor, J., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, V, Chap. VI, pp. 357-406.

⁵ [Martyn, Benjamin], *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, I, pp. 153-201, presents a strong argument in defense of Georgia and combats adverse reports on the colony in 1741.

of the individual, would increase the military strength of the colony.

This the Trustees planned to accomplish in a number of ways. The settlers were to be grouped into villages, instead of being scattered over the province on isolated farms.⁶ The amount of land which any one colonist might own was limited to fifty acres,⁷ to be divided into three holdings: a town lot of a quarter acre, a garden lot of four and three quarters acres on the edge of the village, and a farm lot of forty-five acres just outside.⁸ Any gentleman coming to Georgia at his own expense and bringing ten or more servants was allowed five hundred acres (thus still maintaining the fifty acre ratio) but no land was to be granted outright.⁹ Instead it was limited to a life tenure, could not be mortgaged or sold, and was to be regranted only to male heirs. A quit rent of four shillings for every hundred acres was to be paid, but as a concession to the philanthropic nature of the colony, and also to encourage settlers, this rent was suspended for the first ten years.¹⁰

The reasons for all these restrictions are obvious. The Trustees felt that fifty acres was all any one man could cultivate. Larger grants would lead to an undesirable scattering. If land could be mortgaged the owners would be less industrious about keeping up their property. If land could be sold, needy colonists might desert the colony. Moreover speculation might result which would lead to the concentration of the land in the hands of a few wealthy planters. The white population of the colony would be lessened, and correspondingly the military strength. Similarly women were not allowed to own land, since of what use were women in time of peril?

The same motives influenced the regulation of the supply of labor. By an act which the Trustees drew up and which the king in council sanctioned in 1735, the importation of negro slaves into

⁶ A good statement of the peculiar character of proprietary Georgia may be found in Coulter, E. M., *A Short History of Georgia*, Chap. VI, "A Peculiar Colony."

⁷ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 55.

⁸ Tailfer, P., *et al.*, *A True and Historical Narrative*, pp. 29-30.

⁹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 55.

¹⁰ Ga. C. R., I, pp. 18-19.

Georgia was forbidden.¹¹ The Trustees knew that slaves made poor fighters. They wanted, moreover, to encourage industry among the colonists and feared that if slave labor was permitted the white men soon would not work. The number of colonists from the debtors' prisons gave support to this action, the Trustees feeling that all heavy labor could be done by the freedmen and by indentured servants.¹² Many of these were sent over to the colony with their passage paid by the Trustees who believed that their presence there was highly beneficial to the safety and prosperity of Georgia.¹³

With this land and labor system the Trustees hoped to bring about a virtual Utopia, a colony of small compact settlements composed not of large plantations owned by the wealthy few but of small tracts held by the hardworking many; a population of small land owners, ready to cultivate their farms industriously in peace and defend them valiantly in war. It was an ideal that did them credit; the only trouble was that it was impractical. Conditions being the same in Georgia as in South Carolina the Georgians with their small tracts of land cultivated individually could not hope to compete with the rich plantation owners in South Carolina. The Trustees' ideal for a Utopia resulted during their government in a slow-growing, poor colony, full of dissatisfied men and backward conditions¹⁴ that did not improve until little by little the Utopian restrictions were lifted and Georgia was allowed to become a small counterpart of South Carolina.

¹¹ For the Trustees' Act of 1735 prohibiting the importation of negro slaves into Georgia, see *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 50-52. Oglethorpe opposed the introduction of slaves into Georgia. *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, III, p. 117. An anniversary sermon was preached in March each year before the Georgia Trustees and the Associates of the late Dr. Bray sitting together; in the anniversary sermon, March 20, 1740, the Rev. William Crowe, Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, stated his opposition to negro slavery in Georgia, Crowe, William. "*A Sermon Preached before the Hon. Trustees, Mar. 20, 1739-40*," pp. 22-23.

¹² *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXIX, pp. 122-124; *ibid.*, XXIX, pp. 346-348; *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 667.

¹³ On this subject, see Fant, H. B., "The Labor Policy of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XVI, (1932), pp. 1-16.

¹⁴ See Corry, J. P., "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XIV, (1930), pp. 181-201.

The Indian policy of the Trustees was of the same paternalistic nature as their land and labor policies; its object, the maintenance of peace with the neighboring Creeks and Cherokees and the rigid control of their lucrative deerskin trade.¹⁵ To the first of these ends the second act of the Trustees was passed and approved by the king in council in 1735. This act forbade the importation of rum, brandy, and other strong liquors into Georgia, and their sale therein.¹⁶ Though its object was in part to protect the morals of the infant colony and curb the vice of drunkenness, its prime motive was to conciliate the Indians.¹⁷ The Indian chiefs had long objected to the sale of rum to their young men upon whom it had incredibly degrading effects.¹⁸ This sale had been, as we have noted, one of the chief causes of the disastrous Yamassee war in South Carolina, and the Trustees wished no such developments in their colony.¹⁹ The act therefore provided that if any rum or brandy were imported into Georgia it was to be staved. No strong liquors whatsoever were to be sold to any person in Georgia whether English or Indian. Furthermore any English trader who wished to sell even beer or ale to the Indians was required to take out a license for this purpose.

The second end, the regulation of trade with the Indians, was as quickly accomplished, at least on paper. On January 9, 1735 *An Act for Maintaining Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia* was passed by the common council of the Trustees.²⁰ It was sent to the Privy Council, and referred to the committee of that body who called on the Board of Trade for advice.²¹ A favor-

¹⁵ *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 31-42; *ibid.*, I, pp. 44-48. Dickerson, O. M., *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, pp. 336-357 discusses the Indian policy of the Board of Trade.

¹⁶ For the Trustees' rum act of 1735, see *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 44-48.

¹⁷ Martyn, Benjamin, *An Account showing the Progress of . . . Georgia*, in *Ga. C. R.*, III, p. 384.

¹⁸ In this connection, see Fant, H. B., "The Prohibition Policy of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XVII, (1933), pp. 286-292.

¹⁹ For an excellent account of the Yamassee War, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Chap. VII, "The Yamassee War."

²⁰ For the text of this act, see *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 31-42.

²¹ Martyn, Benjamin, *An Account Showing the Progress of . . . Georgia*, in *Ga. C. R.*, III, p. 385.

able report was rendered and on April 3, 1735 the royal sanction was given. This act, outlining the method by which the Trustees expected to regulate the Indian trade and manage Indian affairs, is a remarkably interesting document which we shall shortly take up in detail, interesting both in itself and as the cause of a long controversy to which a later chapter is devoted. But first we must consider the nature of this Indian trade which the Georgia Trustees were anxious to regulate.

The deerskin trade was valuable to Great Britain for the same reason as the fur trade of the northern colonies. The hides were a raw product which the mother country needed. They were a help to her in maintaining a favorable balance of trade with other countries. At the same time the goods exchanged for these hides were chiefly English goods, particularly irons and woolens, thus affording an outlet for English manufactures.²²

The Indian trade of South Carolina in the early part of the eighteenth century had reached a considerable volume. This trade, like the Indian trade of Georgia later, consisted of two parts, the trade in Indian slaves and the traffic in deerskins. In South Carolina alone of the continental colonies the trade in Indian slaves was of commercial proportions. In 1708, for example, when the total population of South Carolina was less than ten thousand, there were fourteen hundred Indian slaves in the colony.²³ This number of Indian slaves probably did not increase greatly in later years, but it was large enough to show the importance of the commerce.

The deerskin trade was even more important. Trustworthy statistics are available for the period 1699 to 1765,²⁴ and these show the fluctuations in the amount of deerskins exported from South Carolina to England. From 1699 to 1715, the average yearly total was nearly 54,000 deerskins.²⁵ Exports for the individual years varied greatly in amount, since conditions were always changing. The peak for this period was reached in the year from Christmas, 1706, to Christmas, 1707, when English merchants imported 121,-

²² Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 108.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 113, citing C.O. 5:1264, p. 82.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 328-331. Appendix A. Exports of Peltry, 1698-1765.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

355 skins. The Yamassee War in 1715-1716 stopped the trade almost completely: in 1716, only 4,702 skins were exported to England. The five years after the close of the Yamassee War saw the trade slowly recover, until by 1721 about a third of the old traffic was again restored. From 1721 to 1724 the reopening of trade with the Lower Creeks and the active support given the traders by Francis Nicholson, the first royal governor of South Carolina, raised the deerskin trade to its pre-war height. The intrigues of the Spaniards with the Lower Creeks during the next six years, however, led to a falling off in volume of the commerce so that the period 1724-1730 was one of decline. The settlement of Georgia increased the amount of deerskins exported from Charleston, as we shall see, so that following 1730 the trade experienced a boom period.

The regulation of the Indian trade was a problem of major importance to South Carolina. When the eighteenth century opened, it was recognized by all that reform in the trade was badly needed. Two leaders in the demand for reform were Joseph Blake, deputy-governor, 1696-1700, and James Moore, governor, 1700-1702. In 1701 a bill was introduced into the commons house providing for an open trade under strict public regulation.²⁶ Though this bill was defeated, the method it proposed was the one ultimately adopted. In 1702 the commons house considered a proposal for a public trade but refused to sanction it. Colonel Thomas Broughton, a member of the assembly and Moore's son-in-law, tried to secure a monopoly northward to the Saxapahaw and as far southward as could be granted with safety.²⁷ In return for this, he offered to pay £800 into the public treasury and to maintain twenty mounted rangers for the defense of the frontier. The assembly rejected his proposal. A law was passed in 1702 forbidding Indian traders to sell goods on credit, but no adequate regulation of the Indian trade was made.

For five years the assembly took no action to establish a satisfactory Indian code, but in 1707, led by Thomas Nairne, the as-

²⁶ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 142, citing Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina Feb. 6, 1701.

²⁷ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 143, citing Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina Jan. 22, 27, 29, 1702.

semblymen passed an act to regulate the Indian trade.²⁸ This act provided for a system of licensing and regulation of all the Indian trade outside of the settlements. The system was to be controlled not by the governor and the council, nor by these acting with the commons, but by the commons house alone. The act set up a board of Indian commissioners, a secretary, and an agent, all appointed for indefinite terms by the act, and removable by vote of the commons house.

The Indian commissioners, nine in number, were as a rule members of the assembly. They were men experienced in Indian affairs, though the act forbade them to engage in the Indian trade. Their membership included Ralph Izard, the first president; Samuel Eveleigh, leading Charleston merchant; and Captain John Musgrove, a prominent Indian trader. These nine commissioners granted, or refused to grant, the licenses, valid for a year, which were required of the Indian traders. The commissioners issued instructions to the agent and to the traders. They also sat as a judicial body to hear appeals from the agent's rulings. The cornerstone in the new machinery, however, was not the commissioners but the Indian agent. He was required to reside among the Indians for ten months each year, to visit the important Indian villages, to settle quarrels, and to oversee the trade. The authorities at Charleston depended on the Indian agent for advice in all matters relating to the red men.

The Yamasee War led to a change in this system of Indian regulation. In 1716 the legislature passed an act which set up a public monopoly.²⁹ The commons house still kept its control of Indian affairs. The monopoly was conducted by a public corporation of five commissioners, the first members of which were named in the act. The commissioners were all experienced in Indian affairs, and were usually men of considerable means. Among them were Colonel George Logan, Ralph Izard and Major John Fenwick, all of whom had served on the former board of commissioners, Colonel

²⁸ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, pp. 148-151, citing *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina*, July 5, 1707.

²⁹ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 193, citing Cooper, T. and McCord, D. J. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, II, 677 ff.

John ("Tuscarora") Barnwell, hero of the Tuscarora War of 1711-1712, and George Chicken, able frontiersman and Indian fighter. The board met frequently, and devoted much time to its official duties.

This public monopoly was kept up until 1719, and the public trade did not entirely cease until 1721. It promoted better feeling among the tribes, and helped to maintain the peace. The Charleston merchants opposed the monopoly, however, and in 1719 they succeeded in having passed an act to replace the 1716 statute.³⁰ The 1719 act set up a mixed system of public and private trade, but it was only a transitional measure. By 1721, private trade had been completely restored.

The board system of regulation was continued until 1724, though in 1723 its control was taken from the commons house and handed over to the governor and council. In the act of 1724, the board was abolished, and authority was vested in a single commissioner.³¹ At the same time the commons house recovered part of its former control. The legislature, by the consent of both branches, formulated policies, appointed the commissioner and the agents, and advised the governor in his dealings with the red men. The first sole commissioner was James Moore, speaker of the commons house. He soon died and was succeeded by George Chicken. In 1727 Chicken gave way to Colonel John Herbert, and in 1733 Tobias Fitch was appointed to the post. Except for a short interruption, this single commissioner system was maintained in force until 1756.

The colonial deerskin trade was encouraged in every way by the British Board of Trade because it helped to create the self-sufficient empire which the statesmen of that time so desired. Each new colony as it developed was urged to cultivate the Indians for this purpose, and Georgia was no exception.

Before Georgia was settled Charleston had been the English center for Indian trade in the southeast, and, long after the development of its little neighbor to the south, Charleston continued to

³⁰ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, pp. 197-199, citing Cooper, T. and McCord, D. J. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, III, 141.

³¹ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 200, citing Cooper, T. and McCord, D. J. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, III, 229.

hold this position.³² The Virginians had been interested in trade with the Indians of South Carolina and of the region which later became Georgia, but after 1711 they became a negligible factor in this traffic.³³ It was to Charleston that most of the Indian traders looked for supplies and to Charleston that they eventually brought their deerskins.³⁴ Charleston was in fact the port of export for Georgia as well as South Carolina, during the whole time of the Trustees' control. The Georgia leaders naturally resented this dependence. They wanted to make Savannah a rival of Charleston³⁵ and a number of points favored such a plan. Savannah was the only port of Georgia—Sunbury was not founded until 1757³⁶—and thus could have no rival at home. Savannah was in an ideal position for development into an Indian trade center, being situated on the Savannah river near its mouth and thus connected by water with Augusta, where the Indian traders, both Georgian and Carolinian, made their headquarters. The periagoes and other trading boats heavily laden with hides were floated down the river directly past Savannah on their way to Charleston. To complete their journey they then had either to follow the inland passage or be transferred to larger boats for the voyage outside, a voyage both long and dangerous since the boats were always so heavily laden that the gunwales were almost level with the water.³⁷ These difficulties would have been obviated, the Georgia leaders argued, if

³² For an excellent discussion of the Charleston Indian trade, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Chap. V, "The Charles Town Indian Trade." See also Rothrock, Mary V., "Carolina Traders among the Overhill Cherokees, 1690 to 1760," in East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications*, I (1929), pp. 3-18. The trade policy of the Trustees is discussed in Fant, H. B., "The Indian Trade Policy of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XV, (1931), pp. 207-222. The deerskin trade is discussed briefly in Sellers, Leila, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, Chap. VIII, "Rice, Indigo and Deerskins," though this thesis deals chiefly with a later period than that covered in the present study.

³³ In 1747, e.g., Virginia exported only 20,000 deer and beaver skins. C. O. 5:1326, V, 99, L. C. Transcripts.

³⁴ *Ga. C. R.*, XXVI, p. 337.

³⁵ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXI, p. 203.

³⁶ Jones, C. C., Jr., *The Dead Towns of Georgia*, p. 143. For a history of Sunbury, see *ibid.*, p. 141-223.

³⁷ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXIII, p. 565; *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 186.

Savannah had been developed into a port of export, but there were weightier factors on the other side of the balance.³⁸

Savannah being new had problems of existence to face which distracted its attention from internal development, and further, Georgia was a poor colony with no capital to spare for this purpose.³⁹ A suitable wharf in fact was lacking at Savannah until 1751.⁴⁰ The unfortunate restrictions of the Trustees in their dreams of a Utopia were a handicap to the rapid growth of the colony and postponed its prosperity until the time of the royal governors.⁴¹ The Spaniards in Florida were a constant menace, especially during the War of Jenkins' Ear, and the threat of invasion hung over the colony, inhibiting its progress. Moreover, Charleston was well established and discouraged all efforts to build up its potential rival, as did also the Board of Trade in London, which though desirous of as many deerskins as possible felt the port of Charleston to be sufficient. And at that time Charleston was, in fact, sufficient. It stood as the most important center for the Indian trade in the southeast, overshadowing the French Mobile and the Spanish St. Augustine; superior in strength and importance to Montreal and comparable only to Albany, the great fur mart of the northern colonies.

But in recognizing the position of Charleston in the Indian trade we must not forget that Augusta and Savannah still played a very important part. As early as 1716 Fort Moore had been built by the Carolinians as a fur trading post on their side of the Savannah river, and in 1735 the present Augusta was founded six miles up the river on the opposite bank.⁴² A fort was erected there with a garrison of some ten or twelve men under a lieutenant, and the

³⁸ For James Habersham's views on this point, see *Ga. C. R.*, XXVI, pp. 342-343. Habersham believed that Georgia would prosper more by producing rice, indigo, silk, and lumber than by engaging in trade with the Indians.

³⁹ *Description of Georgia by a Gentleman who has resided there upwards of Seven Years and was one of the First Settlers*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ga. C. R.*, XXV, pp. 361, 391, 449.

⁴¹ *Description of Georgia by a Gentleman . . .*, p. 6, states that the lack of enough warehouses kept the deerskin trade of Savannah small.

⁴² For a satisfactory history of Augusta, see Jones, C. C., Jr., and Dutcher, Salem, *Memorial History of Augusta, Georgia*.

trading was henceforth carried on from there.⁴³ Traders were drawn to Augusta by its proximity to the Indian country and the protection of its fort.⁴⁴ Soon all trading paths ran through Augusta connecting it on the one hand with Savannah, Charleston, and South Carolina, and on the other hand with the Cherokees, the Creeks, and even the distant Chickasaws and Choctaws.⁴⁵ The English traders, both from Georgia and Carolina, used Augusta as their trading base. The store keepers here supplied most of the goods needed by these men for their traffic with the Indians and they did a thriving business at the busy seasons of the year.⁴⁶

The Indian traders themselves were a curious lot: dissolute, given to heavy drinking,⁴⁷ quarrelsome, lawless and quick to take advantage of the ignorance of the Indians in matters of weights and measures and of skin values.⁴⁸ On the other hand they were resourceful and brave, and understood the Indians from years of living among them. They were thus valuable as forest diplomats and promoted the interests of their country in every way possible in their dealings with the red men. They kept the officials informed of what was going on among the Indians, taught the Indians the European art of war, and when wars came placed themselves at the head of the tribes and led them into battle for England.⁴⁹ They had a considerable influence on Indian sentiment and whenever possible instilled in the native mind a hatred for the French and the Spaniards. Their influence, as we shall later see, was largely responsible for the success of the Chickasaws against the French. There is little doubt that the Indian trader was one of the most important factors in the successful English control of the red men.

⁴³ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXX, p. 199; *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 667. In 1741 Oglethorpe increased the garrison from twelve to twenty men. *Ga. C. R. supp.* to IV, p. 126.

⁴⁴ *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 585.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 667. For a thoughtful article in this connection, see Crane, V. W., "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: The Beginnings of Exploration and Trade," in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, III, (June, 1916), pp. 3-18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 598.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 434; *ibid.*, *supp.* to IV, pp. 11, 183; *ibid.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 434; *ibid.*, XXIII, p. 206; *ibid.*, IV, pp. 591, 598, 641; *ibid.*, V, p. 630; *ibid.*, XXV, pp. 44, 48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 219; *ibid.*, IV, p. 563.

There were three Indian tribes with which proprietary Georgia was primarily concerned: the Creeks and the Cherokees, in friendship and in trade; the Yamassees in enmity and in war.⁵⁰ Of all these the most important were the Creeks, a confederacy of tribes, absorbing new minor tribes from time to time and occupying the region from the middle expanse of the Chattahoochee west by north across the present state of Alabama.⁵¹ They consisted of two main divisions: the Upper Creeks who lived near the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and were made up of three smaller tribes, the Alabamas, the Abikhas, and the Tallapoosas; and the Lower Creeks whose villages stood along the Chattahoochee. In 1740 the Lower Creeks numbered about seven hundred warriors and the Upper Creeks a thousand.⁵² The chief town of the Lower Creeks was Coweta, near the site of the modern Columbus,⁵³ two hundred miles from Augusta and one hundred and twenty miles from Fort Toulouse.⁵⁴ They thus held the key position in the international contest between Georgia, Florida and Louisiana, being a buffer for the English against both the Spaniards and the French. During the thirties and forties their population unlike that of the other southern Indians was on the increase and their importance increased with it. The English, French and Spanish were constant rivals for their favor during this time, with the English usually holding the upper hand. As to the nature of these Indians, the

⁵⁰ For a classification of the linguistic groups in the southeastern tribes, see Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, p. 11. For a two-page contemporary description of the Georgia Indians, see *Bolzins' Journal*, March 15, 1734, in Force, Peter, *Tracts*, IV, no. 5, pp. 21-22; another contemporary description is given in *A New and Accurate Account of the Province of South Carolina and Georgia*, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, pp. 53-55.

⁵¹ For an explanation of why the Creeks were so called, see Crane, V. W., "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, V, (1918), pp. 339-342. A good description of the Creeks is given in Bartram, William, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, pt. II, p. 210.

⁵² Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXV, p. 308. On the subject of Indian population in the southeast, see Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, pp. 421-456.

⁵³ Bushnell, D. I., *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi*, p. 77.

⁵⁴ *A State of the Province of Georgia, Nov. 10, 1740*, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXV, p. 308. For the names and location of the Lower Creek towns, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 134.

opinion of Montiano, the governor of Florida, is as accurate as any, though probably biased because of Creek hostility to the Spanish. Montiano stated, after dealing with the Creeks for ten years, that they were lazy and poor, naturally evil, talkative, variable and undependable.⁵⁵ He distrusted their offers of friendship, he added, because it was Creek policy to be friends with everybody.⁵⁶ Certainly the facts bore out Montiano's statement as the Creeks during the history of this period constantly shifted allegiance, playing one country off against another in an effort to control the balance of power.

The Cherokees were grouped in three sections.⁵⁷ One lived in what is now western South Carolina and northwestern Georgia, the second in western North Carolina and northeastern Georgia, while the third, the Overhill towns, lay in eastern Tennessee and northern Alabama. There were about five thousand Cherokee warriors at the time of Oglethorpe's coming,⁵⁸ but nearly a thousand were lost by smallpox in 1739.⁵⁹ The position of the Cherokees naturally brought these powerful people in constant contact with the Georgia settlers, and relations were amicable, though the French made constant efforts to break up this relationship. The Cherokees aided the colonists in time of danger, and brought them their skins for trade in time of peace. Their importance was great, though not of course as great as that of the Creeks who held the key position.⁶⁰

The Yamassees must be mentioned briefly, not because of trade relations with the English, but because they continued to be their

⁵⁵ Montiano to the king, Aug. 3, 1747. A. G. I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 311-312, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵⁶ Montiano to the king, March 15, 1748. A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, p. 325, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵⁷ For an account of Cherokee myths, see Mooney, James, "Myths of the Cherokees," in the *Nineteenth Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (1897-1898).

⁵⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, IV, pp. 666-667.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 666-667. This smallpox was carried by the South Carolina traders, *ibid.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 247.

⁶⁰ The Cherokee in 1752 asked Lt. Govr. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia to send Virginia traders to them. The Indians complained that the South Carolina traders did not supply them with enough goods. C. O. 5: 1327, W. 92, L. C. Transcripts. C. O. 5: 1327, W, 63, L. C. Transcripts.

bitter enemies. They had moved south of the Altamaha after their defeat in the South Carolina-Yamassee war of 1715-1716 and were the one Indian tribe entirely loyal to Spanish interests. The English made no attempt to win their friendship and the French were too far away to pay any attention to them, so throughout this period they continued to be loyal to the Spanish, trading with them and fighting for them. They took some part in the Georgia-Florida war, as we shall see, but were never strong enough to be a decisive factor.

There were two other groups, the Chickasaws and the Choctaws, with which the Georgians had occasional dealings. The Chickasaws lived west of the Cherokees in the region surrounded by the Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Tombigbee rivers.⁶¹ They were not numerous, having only about four hundred men in 1740,⁶² but they were known to be the bravest and the best warriors in the south and gave many proofs of their skill and daring.⁶³ They were consistently loyal to their English friends—the friendly old Chickasaws they were called by the South Carolina Indian trader, James Adair—and were bitter enemies of the French as we have noted. With the Spaniards they had no connection, being too far away for the Spaniards to know much of them, even as late as 1748.

South of the Chickasaws dwelt the Choctaws, a great nation that numbered about ten thousand fighting men in 1738.⁶⁴ They were excellent talkers, ready of tongue and wit, but were arrant cowards in time of war. They were known to be more fickle than the other Indian tribes,⁶⁵ even than the Creeks, and were both greedy and

⁶¹ With the Chickasaws were allied the Natchez. Thwaites, R. G., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, LXVIII, 121-163 contains an account of Natchez customs in 1730. On the Illinois Indians, see Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*.

⁶² *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pp. 152-153.

⁶³ Le Petit to d'Avaugour, July 12, 1730, in add MSS 32,702, f. 347, L. C. Transcripts. Oglethorpe stated in 1744 that the Chickasaws were "the bravest and best Warriors on the Main of America." *Idem*.

⁶⁴ *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 193. The Choctaws had 46 towns William Bull wrote the Board of Trade in 1738. *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 212.

⁶⁵ Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series B, 68, f. 407, L. C. Transcripts.

selfish.⁶⁶ Up to the year 1702 they had been friends of the English, but at that time, angered by the Carolinians who had sold some Choctaws into slavery, they joined the French, sold them their deerskins, and remained their allies until 1763. The English tried repeatedly to win them back, notably after 1735 when the aforementioned Indian trader, James Adair, was sent by the governor of South Carolina to try to secure the Choctaw friendship for English traders. But his success was small. The Choctaws like the Chickasaws had little or nothing to do with the Spaniards.

The Indian trade in Georgia was made up of two very unequal parts: the trade in Indian slaves and the trade in skins. The Indian slave trade in Georgia, unlike that in South Carolina,⁶⁷ did not thrive.⁶⁸ Though the Trustees' prohibition of negro slaves did not include prohibition of Indian slavery and though there was a great need of labor in Georgia as in every frontier colony, there was never more than a scattering of enslaved Indians throughout the towns and plantations. There were a number of reasons for this. The Indian made an unsatisfactory worker and was inclined to pine away in captivity. And though the Indians themselves enslaved other Indians and even an occasional captive white man,⁶⁹ and used them for performing the menial tasks of the village, they fiercely resented the enslavement of their countrymen by the whites. It was a question which might easily have interrupted friendly relations between the whites and the Indians. So the Trustees, while not prohibiting Indian slavery, did not encourage it. In fact the few historic examples we find of Indian slavery are more interesting than significant.⁷⁰ Mary Musgrove, the half breed Creek princess with whom we shall deal later in detail, is known to have had an Indian slave named Whonny, whom she used

⁶⁶ John Wesley stated that the Choctaws were the least polished, that is, the least corrupted, of all the Indians. Curnock, N., (ed.), *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, I, p. 238 (June 30, 1736).

⁶⁷ On the subject of Indian slavery in South Carolina, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Chap. V, "The Charles Town Indian Trade." A briefer treatment is given in McCrady, Edward, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina" in *Amer. Hist. Association Report* for 1895, pp. 631-674.

⁶⁸ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXIII, p. 495.

⁶⁹ See e.g., "Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy," in Williams, S. C., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, p. 150.

⁷⁰ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXIII, p. 475.

as a house servant and messenger while living among the whites.⁷¹ There is also record of Oglethorpe's presenting this same Mary Musgrove with an Indian slave. Jacob Matthews was known to have had an Indian slave at one time, named Nottaway.⁷² There were some other instances of Indian slavery.

Trade in skins, on the other hand, was large. Practically all of the Georgia deerskins, as well as those of South Carolina, were exported through Charleston, where the Georgia skins made up a substantial part of the total exports. The statistics for Charleston will thus be an approximate measure of the Georgia deerskins exported. In 1735, 81,017 deerskins weighing about 120,000 pounds were exported from Charleston.⁷³ In 1740 the total was 153,180 pounds. In 1745, the amount exported was 277,728 pounds, while in 1750 the total dropped to 186,916 pounds. In 1755 the exports totalled 210,434 pounds. In 1758 an all-time high was reached in the export of 355,207 pounds. It is clear that the Charleston trade was increasing during the thirties and forties. Much of the increase was due to the increased volume of the Georgia trade. This traffic was not, strictly speaking, a fur trade as in the north, since the great bulk of it was in deerskins, and the valuable furs found in the north were met with in only small quantities in the Georgia regions. Deerskins alone however were a considerable source of profit, especially to the Charleston merchants through whose hands most of these skins eventually passed. For the first few years of the life of the Georgia colony there was no licensing of traders. Even during the decade after the passage of the Indian Act in 1735 the number of licenses did not exceed sixteen or eighteen a year.⁷⁴ Naturally there were many more men than this engaged in the Georgia Indian trade. The number of traders, packhorsemen, servants, townsmen and others who depended on the deerskin trade has been estimated at six hundred

⁷¹ *Ga. C. R.*, VI, p. 259.

⁷² *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 329.

⁷³ For statistics showing the amount of deerskins exported from Charleston, 1724-1765, see Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, Appendices, Tables III, IV, pp. 330-331.

⁷⁴ *Ga. C. R.*, XXIV, p. 23; *ibid.*, XXIII, p. 266.

whites,⁷⁵ though this is probably too high.⁷⁶ Some of this number were Georgians who traded illegally without a license but the bulk of the traffic was still in the hands of the Carolinians in the years 1735 to 1743. In the last decade under the Trustees, however, as the colony grew in population and the deerskin trade increased, the number of Georgia traders increased with it, and Georgia became a more serious rival of South Carolina, but that is a matter to be taken up in greater detail in the next chapter.

There was, of course, not only rivalry between Georgia and South Carolina for the Indian trade, but an even stronger and more bitter competition between the English traders and the French and the Spanish. English-Spanish rivalry centered in the Creek towns and in Coweta in particular, but the trading path from St. Augustine to Coweta was less beaten than that from Augusta to the same Creek town and the English were definitely superior to their Spanish competitors in both initiative and trading ability. The Spaniards made only two or three trips a year to carry goods to the Creeks, while English traders passed back and forth through the entire twelve months.⁷⁷ Moreover the English kept stores of cloths, shirts, liquor, powder, and candles in the principal Creek villages and thus had more reason for their travels back and forth.

The English and French were rivals for the trade of the Creeks, as well as for that of the Cherokees and Choctaws. The French, however, offered the English a great deal sterner opposition than the Spaniards in the deerskin trade, for their understanding of the Indian character was keen and their methods of dealing with the red man extremely skillful. One of the commonest French practices among the Indians, particularly under Bienville, was that of giving the Indians a taste of European goods and then curtailing the supply so that the Indians were always in want and therefore eager for the presence of the traders and more

⁷⁵ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXV, p. 307; see also *A State of the Province of Georgia, Nov. 16, 1740*, in Ga. C. R., IV, p. 666.

⁷⁶ Patrick Tailfer stated that this estimate was much too high in his *A True and Historical Narrative*, pp. 114-115. He placed the number of storekeepers and traders at Augusta in 1740 at thirty or more, *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁷⁷ Fray Joseph Ramos Escudero to . . . , Oct. 20, 1734. Brooks Transcripts, L. C., Div. MSS.

amenable to bargaining.⁷⁸ But the English soon learned this trick and though in general their policy was generous with the Indians, far too generous to suit the French and Spanish, they kept it in reserve, and many a trader in those years was able to keep peace and friendship by the mere threat of withdrawing his trade from an Indian village.

There were many reasons why the English enjoyed a general advantage in the Indian trade. Their goods were better and more abundant, so much so in fact that as the threat of English trade supremacy grew, the French and Spanish grew so desperate that they even bought goods from the English with which to carry on their own Indian trade.^{78a} Moreover the English had a different system of buying deerskins and one which was more profitable both to themselves and to the Indians. They divided the deerskins bought into three classes, large, medium and small.⁷⁹ The large skins had to weigh at least two pounds, the medium, one and a quarter pounds, and the small ones less than that. Two medium skins or three small ones were considered equal to one large skin and were paid for accordingly. Since the French traders made no such distinctions but bought the skins as they were offered the English were able to pay a much higher price to the Indians especially as deerskins in general commanded a higher price in England than in France and Spain. The effect of this on the Indians was what might be expected. They took their large deerskins to the English and sold them at the high price, saving their small skins for the French who accepted them without question. It is an interesting coincidence that the French method was peculiarly adapted to their only loyal Indian allies, the Choctaws, for the Choctaws lived in a district where the deer were small.⁸⁰

Another way in which the English showed their superior trading skill was in their free use of credit. They frequently sold their goods to the Indians on time, not pressing for payment but waiting

⁷⁸ Diron d'Artaguetto to Maurepas, May 8, 1737, in Rowland, Dunbar and Sanders, A. G., (ed.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1729-1740, French Dominion*, I, (hereinafter cited as *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*), p. 338.

^{78a} *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, 8.

⁷⁹ Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1735, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 262.

⁸⁰ Bienville to Maurepas, Feb. 10, 1736, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, pp. 290-291.

for the Indians to settle their debts when they were ready. The Creeks were slow to pay, and the English officials frowned on this system, but pay the Creeks usually did in the end, in their ubiquitous coin, deerskins. The Creeks, as a matter of fact, had some understanding of the methods of trade themselves, for they frequently bought deerskins from tribes further west and then re-sold them to the English traders at a comfortable advantage.

But even making allowances for the difference in methods and the difference in home market prices, the English were always more generous with the Indians than their rivals, offering them both better goods and more advantageous prices,⁸¹ and there is no doubt that this was a tremendous factor in the influence and development of the English in the southeast.

Having considered the general nature of the Indian trade, let us now go on to a detailed consideration of the act under which this trade was governed; an act, as before stated, which was formulated by the Trustees and finally sanctioned by the king in council, April, 1735.⁸² But when we say formulated it must not be thought that this act was worked out, article by article, by the Trustees in their distant London chairs. On the contrary it was actually lifted, with scarcely a change, from the statute books of South Carolina, on the pages of which its own Indian Act had been recorded some two years earlier. That statute in turn had been copied from the South Carolina law of August 20, 1731. Since the Carolinians had for decades been interested in the Indian trade of the Georgia country, the Georgia act could have no better source than the statute book of South Carolina. We shall see later, however, when we consider the controversy which this act raised between Georgia and South Carolina, the slightly ironic aspect to this circumstance.

The purpose of this act, *An Act for Maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia*, was virtuously set forth in the preamble. The safety and welfare of the colony, the act declared, demanded that friendly relations with the Indians be maintained, and trade with them regulated. No mention was made of

⁸¹ The French however explained the higher prices paid by the English to the Indians by pointing out that the French goods were of a better quality. "Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy" in Williams, S. C., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, p. 157.

⁸² This act may be found in *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 31-42.

probable profits accruing to the Georgians from control of this lucrative trade within the limits of their boundaries, or of any desire to obtain their share of the spoils hitherto entirely reaped by the South Carolinians.

The particulars of the act followed. No person should lawfully engage in trade with the Indians without first obtaining a license from the Georgia authorities.⁸³ Anyone so attempting was liable to a fine of one hundred pounds sterling and his goods might be seized by warrant from the Indian commissioner.⁸⁴ The common council of the Trustees was to appoint the officials to regulate this trade: a commissioner, a secretary, and a treasurer, the common council having the power to determine the amount of salary and perquisites of these officers, and to remove them from office should occasion warrant. The secretary was to keep a book of the proceedings of the commissioner, to keep all books and papers relating to the Indian trade, and to keep the bonds of all those licensed to trade. His fee was to be ten shillings sterling from each trader taking out a license. The treasurer was empowered to receive all sums of money paid in for licenses by traders from other colonies (notably South Carolina), such money to be used for paying the salaries and expenses of the commissioner and the Indian agents. If there should be an overplus, the act optimistically added, it was to be used for the benefit of Georgia as the common council of the Trustees thought fit.

The duties of the commissioner were large and comprehensive. He was generally empowered and instructed to supervise trade with the Indians and to manage all Indian affairs in general. He was to keep the natives peaceful and to prevent any injustice being practiced upon them by the traders. He was also to represent the colony to the Indians, to receive their delegations and to treat with them, to distribute the Indian presents, either in person or by deputy, and to visit the Indian villages whenever occasion should demand.⁸⁵

⁸³ For the form of the Georgia license, see *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXIX, pp. 108-109.

⁸⁴ For an example of the arrest of an Indian trader for trading without a license, see *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 166.

⁸⁵ See also *C. O. 5*: 1338, No. 93, *L. C. Transcripts*.

The commissioner was to have complete power to hear and determine all complaints from the Indians and to take the evidence of any Indian against any trader. It was also his duty to determine whether the Indian was telling the truth. If the sum involved were less than three pounds the commissioner was to judge the case and award damages to those Indians who deserved them. If the offense were of sufficient gravity as to justify it, the commissioner was empowered to withdraw the license of the offending trader. The stated method of enforcing such judgments took keen cognizance of the actual conditions of the trade at that time. A warrant was to be issued by the commissioner directing any trader or traders living in the same Indian nation as the offender to compel him to pay his fine. This assisting trader was to sign the warrant certifying that the fine had been paid, and in case this trader should fail to put the warrant into execution, or should certify falsely to the commissioner, he was to be subject to a penalty of six pounds sterling. Any trader executing such a warrant was to be allowed mileage from his trading house to that of the offending trader, the mileage to cover his expenses during the journey. Any person in the Indian country disobeying an order of the commissioner should be taken into custody by the commander of the nearest garrison. This was to be done by sending out a constable with a detail of four men or less, and this constable was empowered to call on any trader necessary for assistance. Any trader refusing so to assist was to have his license revoked and his bond forfeited. The commissioner was empowered to employ interpreters to aid him in managing the Indian trade and in hearing complaints and redressing grievances, as he saw fit.

To guard against corruption the commissioner was forbidden to trade directly or indirectly with the Indians or to sell any Indian trading goods to any person, or to accept any gift or fee from any Indian trader while holding office as commissioner or even for four years after leaving office, under penalty of one thousand pounds sterling. Exception was made in the case of presents made to the commissioner by the Indians in token of their alliance with Georgia, or in the case of such presents of food as the commissioner needed for his subsistence while among the Indians.

All traders were required to publish their names in the office of the secretary for Indian affairs for at least ten days before license could be granted, and were to produce certificates that they had so done, and also, if they were Carolinians, that they had paid to the Treasurer such sum (not to exceed five pounds sterling) as the common council of the Trustees should direct. If no objection was made, either by the commissioner or by any other person, the commissioner was then empowered to grant the license. Any trader obtaining a license must first give bond in the sum of one hundred pounds sterling that he would behave well toward the Indians and would abide by the orders of the commissioner.

Any licensed trader who should trust any one Indian for more than the value of one pound of powder and four pounds of bullets was to forfeit his debt due from the Indian and also forfeit his license and bond. This of course was a precaution to keep the Indian credit, before mentioned, within bounds. All licensed traders were forbidden to trade with any Indians at enmity with the English, or to trade in any manner with any French or Spanish traders, under penalty of loss of bond. All traders, except those to the Chickasaw country, should come to Savannah in person, in March, April, May or June of each year to renew their licenses. Traders to the Chickasaws were permitted, because of the greater distance, to renew their licenses once in every eighteen months but might not trade with any other Indians on their way from Savannah to the Chickasaw villages.

Every principal trader was allowed to include two assistants in his license, but no more than three names were permitted to appear on any one license. None but the principal on the license was to engage in actual trade, and it was he who must give bond for his own and his men's good behavior. Principal traders returning to Savannah to renew their licenses were permitted to leave one of their men in charge of their stores, but on any complaint against these helpers the principal trader was to deliver the offender to the commissioner under penalty of forfeiting license and bond. No principal trader was to discharge any helper while in the Indian country, and if any man should wilfully leave his principal's employ while in the Indian territory, no other trader was permitted to hire him under penalty of eight pounds sterling and damages.

The Indian tribes and also the particular town to be traded with was to be set down on every license and any trader found to be carrying on his traffic outside the limits assigned to him was to forfeit his license. No trader was to trade in any town where resided another trader, except in such large towns where the commissioner thought two or more traders necessary. In the case of towns too small to support one trader, two or more small towns might be grouped together within one trader's province. If any trader brought with him to Savannah any Indian or white helpers he must maintain them at his own expense and pay any damage done by them. Any person, on the other hand, employing negro or other slaves in the Indian country was to forfeit fifteen pounds sterling. Instructions sent out from time to time by the common council of the Trustees were to be added to all licenses, the statute finished, and any fines or penalties might be mitigated by advice of the common council. Such were the major provisions of the Georgia Indian act of 1735.

Under this act the only official of any authority was the Indian commissioner and it was logical to appoint the governor of the colony to this post.⁸⁶ Oglethorpe therefore was the first Indian commissioner of Georgia, his commission dated September 24, 1735.⁸⁷ Throughout his term Oglethorpe served ably and well, showing himself always a good friend of all the Indians and exercising a powerful influence particularly over the Creeks and Cherokees. It was, in fact, due in no small part to the efforts of Oglethorpe that these two nations remained faithful to the British in spite of the efforts of the French and Spanish to lure them away. However, Oglethorpe's duties as commander of the English forces against the Spanish called him to Frederica before he had filled the office for many years, and since he was unable thus to give the necessary attention to the Indian affairs at Savannah and Augusta the Trustees on September 14, 1741 appointed William Stephens, the venerable secretary of Georgia and its later president, to be co-commissioner and lighten the burden which Oglethorpe

⁸⁶ It will be remembered that Oglethorpe did not hold the title of governor.

⁸⁷ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXII, pp. 406-407. See also *Ga. C. R.*, II, pp. 120, 123.

carried.⁸⁸ Stephens, in accepting this appointment, recognized frankly the superior authority of the general, for he stated that in all matters of grave importance he would look to Oglethorpe for advice.⁸⁹ Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743 but his commission was not revoked until July 13, 1750, when the commission of the co-commissioner was also revoked and Henry Parker, then vice-president of Georgia, appointed sole Indian commissioner for the colony.⁹⁰ Parker died two years later in July 1752, and the Georgia assistants then appointed William Spencer to act as Indian commissioner provisionally until the Trustees should make an appointment.⁹¹ The Trustees were chiefly concerned at this point, however, with surrendering their charter and never made the appointment necessary to fill the vacancy. Spencer remained in provisional office. All three of these men serving as commissioner under the Trustees were men of ability and honor, but there is no question that the power and influence exerted by Oglethorpe over both the traders and the Indians was the one real force behind the detailed and elaborate Georgia Indian act.

Since practically the sole duties of the secretary for Indian affairs were to grant and renew the licenses and to keep the books, the office was one of minor importance and the qualifications necessary to fit one for the place were not particularly high. In spite of this fact, or very possibly because of it, there seemed to be great difficulty in keeping the post filled, and the secretaryship changed hands frequently. The only man of really high calibre to hold this office was the first secretary, the famous Charles Wesley who is best remembered as the creator of beautiful hymns. Wesley had come to Georgia as private secretary to Oglethorpe and was appointed to the office of secretary of Indian affairs on September 24, 1735, the same day that Oglethorpe was appointed commissioner.⁹² He served less than three years however before poor

⁸⁸ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXIII, pp. 181-183; *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 371; *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXX, p. 390. See [Stephens, Thomas], *The Castle Builders*, for an account of William Stephens by his son.

⁸⁹ *Ga. C. R.*, XXIII, p. 209.

⁹⁰ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXIII, pp. 424-426; *Ga. C. R.*, I, p. 548; *ibid.*, II, p. 509; *ibid.*, VI, p. 353.

⁹¹ *Ga. C. R.*, XXVI, p. 408.

⁹² *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXII, pp. 408-409.

health took him permanently back to England⁹³ and his place was then filled by John Clark, a tailor,⁹⁴ who was appointed to office on May 3, 1738.⁹⁵ Clark served as secretary for four years, but he was an old man⁹⁶ and died in 1743. After Clark's death William Stephens, who had been appointed co-commissioner the year before, recommended his clerk Thomas Bosomworth to fill the office.⁹⁷ This appointment was recommended by the trustees on July 26, 1742,⁹⁸ but Bosomworth held office for less than a year before resigning voluntarily. The Trustees then were forced to make another appointment and on May 2, 1743, John Dobell, a Savannah schoolmaster⁹⁹ and register of the colony,¹⁰⁰ was appointed.¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note here that though the schoolmaster John Dobell was eventually dismissed as register because he was thought to have too little ability to discharge the duties of the office,¹⁰² he yet was retained as secretary. In 1746 Dobell left Georgia, turning over to William Stephens and the assistants the keys to the school, a list of the pupils, his papers as secretary and a statement that he was leaving the Trustees' service.¹⁰³ Two men then applied for the post, a John Brown who was rejected on the grounds that he drank too heavily and had too ungovernable a temper,¹⁰⁴ and John Pye, a storekeeper.¹⁰⁵ Pye was favorably considered but never appointed,¹⁰⁶ for Dobell unexpectedly returned to Savannah and quietly resumed his duties for three more years.¹⁰⁷ The Trustees then, on May 29, 1749, appointed Nicholas Rigby, for many years clerk to William Stephens,¹⁰⁸ to succeed

⁹³ Verelst to Causton, May 19, 1738. Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 530.

⁹⁴ Ga. C. R., VI, p. 293. His widow married a Savannah bricklayer named Thomas Cross. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 293.

⁹⁵ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXII, pp. 577-579.

⁹⁶ Ga. C. R., VI, p. 14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, V, p. 653.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 403.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 427.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 420.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 172; *ibid.*, XXIV, p. 23; *ibid.*, V, p. 659.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 159.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 162.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 97.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV, pp. 145-146.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 172.

¹⁰⁸ Verelst to William Stephens, July 10, 1749, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXI, p. 327.

Dobell.¹⁰⁹ But Rigby upon taking office immediately began to follow too extravagant a mode of living and to neglect his duties, and in March, 1750 had to be dismissed from his position of clerk to the commissioner.¹¹⁰ William Spencer was given the clerkship and also applied to the Trustees for Rigby's position as secretary.¹¹¹ This request was never granted,¹¹² however, and Rigby continued in office until the Trustees surrendered their charter. Spencer however did better through this oversight for as we have seen it was he who filled the position of Indian commissioner for a time after Henry Parker's death in 1752.

It is clear that it required no man of high calibre to fill the post of secretary. Clark was old and feeble when he applied for the position and while in office, was refused a town lot for which he had applied, on the grounds that he might become a public charge.¹¹³ John Dobell was discharged as register for incompetence, and Nicholas Rigby discharged as clerk to the president because of neglect of duty. Yet all these men stayed on as secretary of Indian affairs. The position of course consumed little time except in the spring when the new licenses were issued to the traders and even then the work was light. So light in fact was the work that in 1742 William Stephens suggested that the office be joined to that of register in order to create a job worthy of one good man's time,¹¹⁴ and this was done in 1743.¹¹⁵ The pay of the secretary for Indian affairs was slight, since he received only the fees allowed for granting and renewing licenses, namely ten shillings each. The total amount received each year from 1735 to 1743 varied between six and nine pounds,¹¹⁶ scarcely a comfortable yearly salary even in those pioneer times. Since the stipend of the register was twenty pounds yearly,¹¹⁷ its addition to the fees of the secretary created a salary large enough to interest a capable man in the two offices.

¹⁰⁹ *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 494; *ibid.*, I, p. 534.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 8-9.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 8-9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 276.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ William Stephens to Verelst, March 20, 1742, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXIII, p. 266.

¹¹⁵ *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 427.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 23; XXIII, p. 266.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 266.

The third office created under the Trustees' Indian act, that of treasurer for Indian affairs, was first filled on September 24, 1735, by Austen Weddell¹¹⁸ who later became constable at Augusta.¹¹⁹ Weddell was sent over from England and maintained for a year at the Trustees' expense.¹²⁰ He was granted a town lot in Savannah by the Trustees,¹²¹ and in 1737 also leased a garden there from one James Dormer.¹²² He died in this same year, however, and no successor was ever appointed.¹²³ The duties of the treasurer were to receive the five pound fee which the act allowed the Trustees to levy on every Carolina trader. By an order in council however, the Trustees were soon forbidden to make this charge to the Carolina traders, and hence there was nothing for the treasurer to do. The only money collected was the ten shilling fee which each Indian trader paid, and this was paid to the secretary. The office of treasurer, therefore, though created in high hopes, was thus practically of no consequence.

In addition to these three offices created by the Indian act, there is another group which deserves mention. These were the Indian agents, appointed by Oglethorpe and maintained by him among the Indians. In this Oglethorpe was once more following the custom of South Carolina. In 1735 he appointed Captain Patrick Mackey, a fiery Scot,¹²⁴ as Georgia agent to the Creeks,¹²⁵ and a year later, Robert Lacy who built the fort at Augusta¹²⁶ was in a similar position among the Cherokees.¹²⁷ By 1739 Thomas Eyre had replaced Lacy¹²⁸ but detailed information about these agents was slight. In 1739, Oglethorpe wrote informing the Trustees that he had appointed an agent among the Creeks and another among the Cherokees, at a salary of thirty pounds a year for themselves and twenty-four pounds a year for a servant.¹²⁹ Though the

¹¹⁸ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXII, pp. 410-412; Ga. C. R., II, pp. 120, 123.

¹¹⁹ Ga. C. R., XXIII, p. 269.

¹²⁰ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 113.

¹²¹ Ga. C. R., II, p. 99.

¹²² *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 484.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 269.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 367.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 3-5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 277; V, p. 533.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 427.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 333, 429; V, p. 699; I, p. 438.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, V, p. 242.

Trustees objected at first to this expenditure of money¹³⁰ they eventually agreed, and wisely.¹³¹ The agent performed the important function of observing what went on in the tribes and of keeping the Savannah authorities informed of what the Indian was doing and planning. He also helped greatly to maintain friendly relations between the red man and the whites and co-operated with the traders in all their dealings.¹³²

¹³⁰ *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 240.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 429.

¹³² The policy of maintaining Indian agents among the Cherokees and Creeks was continued throughout the colonial period. *Ga. C. R.*, XIX, pt. 2, p. 532. They were paid by the Trustees up to 1752, and afterwards by Parliament. *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 242; XIX, pt. 2, pp. 532-533; *A.P.C.C.*, IV, No. 188, pp. 178-180.

CHAPTER III

THE GEORGIA INDIAN ACT CONTROVERSY

It was in the natural order of things that the South Carolina traders and merchants should resent the passage of the Georgia Indian act in 1735. They were used to reaping the profits of that trade and their assembly had been used to regulating it. Laws for control of the Indian trade south of the Savannah river had been in effect for years before Georgia was founded, the last one passed in August 1731.¹ And even when the Georgia charter cut this region off from South Carolina authority, the South Carolinians decided to ignore the fact and on September 22, 1733, extended their act for three years more.² This act, as has been mentioned before, was the one from which the Georgia Indian Act was lifted almost verbatim. Thus we have two colonies with parallel acts in force discriminating against each other and asserting authority against each other. Conflict was inevitable, with South Carolina feeling Georgia to be not only an interloper, but an impudent plagiarist. When, in February, 1736, Oglethorpe as Indian commissioner called in all the old Carolina traders and required them to take out licenses to trade with the very Indians with whom they had been trading for years, the struggle was on.

Closely connected with the Indian Act controversy was the South Carolina-Georgia dispute over the Georgia rum act of 1735. The Carolinians soon found that this act, passed by the Trustees primarily to prevent disorders among the Indians, had its effect on them as well. The South Carolina traders using the water route to Augusta had to pass Savannah on their way up the river, and most of them carried rum as a regular part of their trading equipment. With the passage of the Georgia Rum act the Savannah

¹ *Ga. C. R.*, III, p. 384. For this act, see Cooper, T., and McCord, D. J., (ed.), *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, III, pp. 327-334. The exact date was August 20, 1731.

² This act may be found *ibid.*, III, pp. 371-372.

authorities immediately started a practice of boarding the South Carolina trading boats and staving whatever rum they found. Again South Carolina resented the Georgian action and again conflict was inevitable. The inter-colonial quarrel became two-pronged.

The people of South Carolina however were by no means unanimous in their opposition to these two Georgia acts. As is usually the case, the only ones incensed were the ones affected: the traders and the merchants whose profits were at stake.³ Opposed to them was the whole group of wealthy planters who had long objected to the existing arrangement regarding the Indian trade. They felt it was unjust that the great expense of defending the colony against Indians should be met from the public treasury while the excessively rich profits from the deerskin trade were divided among a comparatively small group—and a group to which they did not belong.⁴ The planters objected to being taxed for the support of a traffic in which they had no share. Consequently when the Georgia acts were passed and the Charleston merchants began their agitation the opposition of the planters manifested itself. The merchants, they felt, were merely trying to stir up trouble with Georgia and they made no move to support them. The merchant group however was both influential and eloquent, and was used to dictating to the legislators, in a considerable degree, about Indian affairs. When the Georgia Indian act was known to be a fact this group took immediate action.⁵

The South Carolina assembly was not in session but Lieutenant Governor William Bull was persuaded to call a special session on four days' notice. It was impossible for the distant members to attend—a fact which was more than agreeable to the Charleston merchants—but on June 26 those members who lived in and near Charleston met and passed, though by only a single vote, an ordinance to protect the South Carolina traders against the Georgia act.⁶ This ordinance asserted that it was the right of all English-

³ *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, pp. 195-196, 161.

⁴ Crane, V. W., *The Southern Frontier*, p. 123.

⁵ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXIX, p. 313.

⁶ This ordinance may be found in Cooper, T., and McCord, D. J. (ed.), *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, III, pp. 448-449. See also Osgood, H. L., *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, III, p. 398.

men to engage in free and open trade with the Indians and that if any trader holding a license from South Carolina were molested by Georgia authorities and his goods seized such loss would be made up to him by South Carolina. It was implicit, though not stated, that Georgia would then be called upon to answer for that loss.

The attitude of Georgia is succinctly stated in a letter from John Wesley, the illustrious religious leader, who was in Savannah at that time and who strenuously supported the position of the Trustees. On July 23, less than a month after the South Carolina special session, he wrote to Archibald Hutchison as follows:⁷ "I have taken some pains to inquire into the great controversy now subsisting between South Carolina and Georgia, and in examining and weighing the letters wrote and the arguments urged on both sides of the question. And I cannot but think that the whole affair might be clearly stated in a few words. A charter was passed a few years since establishing the bounds of this province and empowering the Trustees therein named to prepare laws which, when ratified by the King in Council, would be of force within those bounds. The Trustees have prepared a law which has been so ratified, for the regulation of the Indian trade, requiring that none should trade with the Indians who are within this province till he is licensed as therein specified. Notwithstanding this law, the governing part of Carolina have asserted, both in conversation, in writing, and in the public newspapers, that it is lawful for anyone not so licensed to trade with the Creek, Cherokee, or Chickasaw Indians. They have passed an ordinance, not only asserting the same but enacting that men and money shall be raised to support such traders; and in fact they have themselves licensed and sent up such traders, both to the Creek and to the Chickasaw Indians.

"This is the plain matter of fact. Now as to matter of right, when twenty more reams of paper have been spent upon it, I cannot but think it must come to this short issue at last: (1) Are the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws within the bounds of Georgia or no? (2) Is an Act of the King in Council, in pursuance of an

⁷ Telford, J., *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, I, pp. 201-202.

Act of Parliament, of any force within these bounds or not? That all other inquiries are absolutely foreign to the question a very little consideration will show. As to the former of these, the Georgia Charter, compared with any map of these parts which I have ever seen, determines it. The latter I have never heard made a question of but in the neighborhood of Carolina." The case however was to prove more complicated than Wesley supposed and was to drag on for over six years.

The first step taken by the Charleston merchants was the sending of a committee from Charleston to Savannah to resolve the differences between the two colonies.⁸ Amicable discussion ensued and the South Carolinians returned to their homes on August 8, believing all differences settled to mutual satisfaction. Agreement had been reached that the case should be referred to England and that all dispute over the Indian trade should lie dormant until the authorities in England should have acted on it. Oglethorpe accordingly notified his agent to the Cherokees, Roger Lacy, and his agent to the Creeks, Tanner, not to interfere with any traders having Carolina licenses. He also ordered that all periagoes going to Purrysburg and Savannah Town with rum aboard should take in a waiter at Savannah, at the Trustees' expense, who should see that no rum was landed in Georgia.

South Carolina then made formal complaint that the Georgia officials were interfering with Carolina trade, which complaint reached the Privy Council in London, and was referred to the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs on November 24, 1736.⁹ On December 8, the committee referred the petition to the Board of Trade and there the case was considered.¹⁰ Ferdinando John Paris was appointed by the Trustees as solicitor for Georgia, and Charles Clark of Lincoln's Inn, Taylor White and one Murray were retained as counsel.¹¹ South Carolina was represented by the solicitor general John Strange and his colleague, one Brown.¹²

⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, p. 206. But see *ibid.*, XXI, p. 224.

⁹ *A.P.C.C.*, III, p. 386.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 386.

¹¹ *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 179.

¹² *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (hereinafter referred to as *Journal of the Board of Trade*), January, 1734-5, to December, 1741, VII, p. 181.

Conditions in the Georgia Indian territory had had to become acute before the case could reach such a point. The dispute had not lain dormant as the conference of August had hoped. There had been constant quarrelling among the rival traders, cut-throat competition and a complete disregard by each faction of the authority of the opposing agents. The effect on the Indians, moreover, had been dangerously unsettling, for seeing no single authority either over the traders or over themselves they had begun to feel the white men were perhaps not strong and powerful enough to rule them after all. Conditions had in fact become so bad that a short time before the case reached the authorities in England Oglethorpe had written to the Trustees that if the Georgia Indian act were not upheld not only Georgia but South Carolina as well would fall victims of a serious Indian war.¹³ Specific incidents however were necessary to point each specific case and the incidents chosen were as follows:¹⁴ Captain Patrick Mackey, then Georgia agent to the Creeks, had seized and sentenced to be whipped a Carolina trader, charging that he was trading without a Georgia license.¹⁵ This brought to test the Georgia Indian act.¹⁶ The Georgia rum act was also brought into the case. There lies opposite Savannah an island called Hutchinson's Island which divides the river into two streams, a northern and a southern branch. The port of Savannah lies in the southern branch but the northern branch offers a shorter route to all points upstream from Savannah and is the natural course for all boats except those wishing to touch at Savannah Town. A Carolina trader named Shepard left Charleston with a cargo including rum, intending to go up the Savannah river to the Carolina town of New Windsor. He happened, however, on this voyage, to enter the southern branch of the stream and while passing through his boat was seized by the

¹³ *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, p. 197; *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXIX, p. 313.

¹⁴ Some of the witnesses were in England; others had to be brought over from America. The Trustees, for example, paid John Brailsford £25 for coming over to be a witness in this case. *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, p. 197.

¹⁶ South Carolina complained to the Trustees of the conduct of Mackay in shutting South Carolina traders out of the Georgia Indian trade. Percival, John, Lord Viscount, First Earl of Egmont, *Diary* (hereinafter cited as *Egmont's Diary*), II, p. 210.

Savannah authorities, and his rum confiscated and staved.¹⁷ Shepard made speedy protest to Lieutenant Governor Bull and this case was incorporated in the protest that eventually reached the Board of Trade.

After the usual postponements the first of four formal hearings before the Board of Trade took place on May 19, 1737.¹⁸ The South Carolina petition was in the form of a complaint that the Georgia authorities had interfered seriously with the South Carolina Indian trade. The Georgia Trustees' petition was a counter complaint that the governor, council and assembly of South Carolina had interfered with the carrying out of the Georgia Indian act, and had passed an ordinance for asserting the rights of the South Carolinians to a free and open trade with the Indians, which ordinance was in contempt of the Georgia Indian act.

The questions at issue before the Board of Trade were clearly three.¹⁹ First, did the Georgia Indian act exclude the South Carolinians from trade with the Georgia Indians?—a question which involved the larger question of the right of the Trustees to interfere with a free and open trade with the Indians. Second, did the port of Savannah include the southern branch of the Savannah river²⁰ and if not was the navigation of the Savannah river to be free to all? Third, did the ordinance of South Carolina of June 26, 1736, destroy the effectiveness of the Trustees' Indian act?

The most important question was of course the matter of free and open trade with the Indians. Strange, the solicitor-general, argued for South Carolina that no act of the Trustees could take away the right of South Carolina to such trade, and that the

¹⁷ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, pp. 196-197.

¹⁸ The four hearings before the Board of Trade were held on May 19, June 6, June 9, and June 18, 1737. The arguments on both sides were given in detail. For the May 19 hearing, see *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, pp. 181-183; for the June 6 hearing, see *ibid.*, VII, pp. 189-193; for the one of June 9, see *ibid.*, VII, pp. 196-199; for the hearing on June 18, see *ibid.*, VII, pp. 201-202.

¹⁹ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, p. 190.

²⁰ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVIII, pt. 1, pp. 109-113, contains a good description of the rivers in Georgia.

Georgia act, doing this, was therefore invalid.²¹ He admitted that royal sanction had been given to the Trustees' Indian act, but denied the power of the crown to interfere with the rights of a citizen to trade wherever he pleased.²² He cited the case of the African Company whose charter had been taken away because it had tried to interfere with this right. Control over trade, Strange argued, belonged to Parliament, not to the crown, and could be exercised by it alone. He cited the case of the East India Company which, while it enjoyed a monopoly of trade, had been granted that monopoly by Parliament.²³

The Solicitor General then went on to consider the earlier attempts of Carolina to exclude the Virginia traders from the Carolina trade. In 1707 Carolina had passed an act which put a tax on all goods imported into the colony and intended for the Indian trade. This had been aimed directly at Virginia and was passed in order to shut the Virginia traders out. On the objection of Virginia, the act had been repealed. In 1711 Carolina had passed another act which excluded the Virginians from trading with the South Carolina Indians unless they took out a license in South Carolina, a case exactly parallel to the case in point. This act also had been disallowed because it violated the right of the Virginians to a free and open trade,²⁴ and thereafter Carolina had made no further attempts to secure the exclusive rights to its Indian trade.

It is perhaps apropos here to mention that, unlike Carolina, Virginia had made no attempt to oppose the Trustees' Indian act. Lieutenant Governor William Gooch of Virginia in August, 1737, wrote that while the Virginians had for decades carried on a trade with the Cherokees and were somewhat surprised to learn that this trade had been closed to them in Georgia, he would abide by the Georgia Indian act. He added that Egmont, the president of the Georgia Trustees, had sent him a copy of the act.²⁵ Virginia,

²¹ For Strange's argument, see *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, pp. 181-183.

²² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 181.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

²⁵ *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 118. Egmont in his *Journal* stated that he had never sent the Virginia governor a copy of the act. *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 49.

however, was further removed from Georgia and the Georgia Indian trade than the Carolinians, and had very much less to lose by this act.

As counsel for Georgia, Clarke attempted to meet the arguments of the solicitor general by asserting that free and open trade would cause disorder and that regulation was necessary.²⁶ He was too wise to attempt to defend the right of the Trustees to interfere with free and open trade, but insisted instead that the Georgia Indian act made no attempt to establish a monopoly but was simply a justifiable and necessary regulation of the traffic.²⁷ There was no monopoly, he continued, because anyone taking out a Georgia license was perfectly free to engage in Georgia trade. He asserted further, but did not prove, that the Carolina acts of 1707 and 1711 differed materially from the Georgia act of 1735.²⁸

Other arguments were advanced on both sides. The Carolinians contended that the Indians were allies, not subjects of Great Britain and hence could not be bound in matters of trade.²⁹ The Georgians rebutted that the Indians were indeed subjects and cited Lord Baltimore's patent to prove it.³⁰ They stated further that the founding of Georgia had greatly benefited the fur trade and cited statistics to show the increase in the volume of trade since Georgia had been founded.³¹ Carolina's answer to this was obvious, that the increase in the fur trade was the result of a boom which had started before Georgia was founded and had nothing to do with its establishment.³² Georgia then abandoned that point and argued instead that their regulations had worked no hardship on Carolina since no Carolina trader applying for a license had been denied one and since many parts of Carolina were as near to Savannah as to Charleston.³³ Carolina counsel replied to this that if the Trustees held a monopoly in the Georgia trade they would always be in a position to injure the Carolina traders and might at any time do

²⁶ For Clarke's argument, see *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, pp. 192-193.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 193.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 192.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 198.

³¹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 193.

³² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 202.

³³ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 192-193.

so.³⁴ These arguments and others still less pertinent were advanced on both sides and much talk and discussion ensued, but when twenty reams of paper had been spent on it, as John Wesley said in his letter, it all came down to this issue: If the Trustees' act interfered with the right of free and open trade it would have to be modified.³⁵

The second question, that pertaining to the southern branch of the Savannah river, was then taken up. Though much less important, it was closely connected with the first question. Strange argued for South Carolina that navigation of the Savannah river was free, that all Carolina inhabitants had a right to travel freely on the Savannah river in going to and from Carolina towns on its banks or to and from other parts of the Carolina colony, and that while the Trustees might lawfully prohibit rum to their own citizens they had no right to forbid its use or possession to citizens of Carolina.³⁶ All this the Georgian counsel was forced to agree to.³⁷ But when Strange then stated that Shepard's rum having been confiscated in the Savannah river had been actually confiscated outside the limits of Georgia,³⁸ Clarke, as counsel for Georgia, took sharp exception. He asserted, in refutation, that the port of Savannah included the southern branch of the Savannah river and hence Shepard had been in Georgia territory when his rum was confiscated.³⁹ This point was important because if Carolina boats were to be allowed to traverse the southern branch of the river past the town of Savannah unmolested, it was going to be impossible to prevent the Carolinians from smuggling rum into Georgia.

The third question, that pertaining to the South Carolina ordinance, then was brought up, the Georgians objecting on the grounds that it encouraged violations of the Georgia Indian act, which indeed it did.⁴⁰ But the Carolinians replied to this that it was a temporary measure intended only to protect the rights of Carolina traders until the controversy over the Georgia Indian act should be settled.⁴¹

³⁴ *Journal of The Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, p. 202.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 197.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 197.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 202.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 193.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 193, 199.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

The Board of Trade having listened to all the arguments on both sides, realized that the point of issue was that of free trade, and on June 21, they sent two questions to the attorney general.⁴² The first asked whether the Georgia Trustees had the right to establish a monopoly over trade with the Georgia Indians. The second asked whether the terms of the Georgian Indian act excluded from trade with the Georgia Indians all persons who failed to take out a Georgia license.

The attorney general replied to these questions: first, that any exclusive trade with the Indians would destroy the general right of trading which all Englishmen enjoyed and hence was repugnant to the spirit of the laws of Great Britain; second, that all persons except those taking out a Georgia license were indeed excluded from the Georgia Indian trade, but that the requiring of such a license was no more than a justifiable regulation of the trade.⁴³ This was highly favorable to the Georgia Trustees, but the Board of Trade chose to disregard this decision, in which they were well within their rights, and when their report to the committee of the Privy Council was drawn up and signed on September 14 it was clearly pro-Carolina.⁴⁴ It stated that Carolinians as well as Georgians should be allowed to engaged in trade with the Georgia Indians, the Carolina traders to take out their licenses in Charleston in accordance with the South Carolina Indian act, the Georgia traders to secure their licenses at Savannah in accordance with the Georgia Indian act. The question of the navigation of the Savannah river the Board of Trade settled by stating that the northern branch of the river should be considered free and that furthermore no vessel should be stopped while navigating either the northern or the southern branch of the river unless it was found to be actually trying to land rum in Georgia territory. As for South Carolina's ordinance, the Board of Trade refused to recommend its disallowance.

This was a great blow to the Georgia Trustees, but they were unwilling to let matters be settled thus against them. Accordingly

⁴² *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, p. 203.

⁴³ *The Case of the Trustees and the Province of Georgia*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1734-5 to December 1741, VII, p. 213.

they appealed to the Privy Council against this report of the Board of Trade, admitting that trade with the Indians should be free and open to all, but declaring again that regulation was essential and the Georgia Indian act merely a necessary form of regulation.⁴⁵

The committee of the Privy Council heard this dispute on January 25, February 4, and February 11, 1738, and on March 18, it drew up its report to the Privy Council.⁴⁶ This report, after stating that it was to the benefit of both Georgia and South Carolina to settle this controversy amicably, proposed to the Privy Council that it recommend to the Trustees, and instruct the governor of South Carolina to recommend to his council and assembly that acts be prepared respectively for settling the Indian trade to the mutual benefit of the two colonies. In the meantime, the report continued, the Trustees should be instructed to direct their Indian commissioner to grant licenses to all who applied for them presenting certificates from the governor and council of South Carolina as to their fitness to engage in the Indian Trade. Such traders, upon being granted licenses, were to give bond for their good behavior.

The report was not submitted for several months, but on July 17 the Trustees, having learned that the committee of the Privy Council intended to make its report to the Privy Council on July 20, and also having learned the nature of this report, became greatly alarmed. It was certain that the report would be confirmed and an order issued directing the Trustees to comply with it. They therefore in a panic directed two of their members, Thomas Towers and Robert Ayers, to draw up a petition to the king urging him to take no action on the report until the boundaries of Georgia and South Carolina should be settled.⁴⁷ This they started to do. Then realizing that valid reasons would have to be brought forth to show how acceptance of this report would damage Georgia in general and the Indian trade in particular, they changed their minds and suggested that the petition to the king be dropped and some proposed instructions sent instead to the Privy Council which it might

⁴⁵ *The Case of the Trustees and the Province of Georgia*, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁶ *A.P.C.C.*, III, §386.

⁴⁷ *Ga. C. R.*, V, pp. 50-51.

give to the governor of South Carolina and to the Trustees.⁴⁸ The Trustees eagerly seized this suggestion and a paper was drawn up.⁴⁹

Whether these proposals ever reached the Privy Council is a matter of doubt but if they did they had no effect,⁵⁰ for on July 21, 1738, the king signed the long awaited instructions⁵¹ which embodied all the points brought forth by the committee of the Privy Council and added further that in the granting of Georgia licenses to Carolina traders during the period of settlement the £5 charge hitherto authorized was not to be levied.⁵²

The Trustees were exceedingly indignant over these instructions⁵³ but realized that it was useless to fight further against it, at least directly. Instead they turned their attention to Samuel Horsey, who was sworn in as governor of South Carolina on August 7. They congratulated him warmly and cordially when he appeared at the meeting of the Trustees two days later at their invitation and then tried to put their case privately before him.⁵⁴ Egmont explained to him that it was impossible for the Trustees to comply with the royal instructions since to license all traders recommended by Horsey and the South Carolina council would mean the virtual handing over of the Georgia Indian trade to South Carolina. Furthermore since politicians would constantly recommend their friends for licenses, it would lead to so many recommendations that the Carolina trade would soon be destroyed also. Egmont suggested that before any further steps could be taken, it was vital to know how many traders were necessary to each Indian town, and also to settle the boundaries of Georgia and South Carolina. Horsey, though non-committal, was cordial in his reply, promising to work in harmony with the Trustees as far as was consistent with his official position.⁵⁵ He realized the force of Egmont's statements and felt it necessary to secure an explanation of the king's instruc-

⁴⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, V, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁹ *Idem.*

⁵⁰ *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 55-56. The Trustees sent Oglethorpe, who was in England at this time, a copy of this for him to carry to Georgia. *Ga. C. R.*, I, p. 320. See also *ibid.*, I, pp. 39-40.

⁵² *Ibid.*, V, pp. 39-40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 20, 46. Egmont stated in 1740 that the Board of Trade were the enemies of the Trustees. *Ibid.*, V, p. 390.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, V, p. 64.

tions. The outlook finally seemed bright for a settlement of the controversy satisfactory to the Trustees.

Unfortunately just at this critical time Horsey suffered a stroke of apoplexy and died during the week preceding August 23.⁵⁶ He was succeeded as governor by James Glen, a man hostile to the Trustees.⁵⁷ This hostility was due to the salary dispute Glen had with Oglethorpe, a matter which is discussed in a later chapter. The practical effect of the quarrel was to keep Glen in England until 1743, since he was too poor to assume the South Carolina governorship without a salary.

In the interim, however, all this had been having its effect in Georgia. The Trustees, in accordance with the royal instructions, had directed Oglethorpe to co-operate with Lieutenant Governor Bull of South Carolina in appointing surveyors to determine the boundaries of Georgia and of South Carolina, and to discover how many Indian traders were necessary to the Georgia trade.⁵⁸ Oglethorpe was further to draw up suitable acts for regulating the Indian trade in accordance with the king's instructions and to work in harmony with the South Carolina Indian commissioner until formal acts could be passed to settle the controversy.⁵⁹

All this Oglethorpe attempted to do, but with ill success. During the winter of 1738-39 he made a special visit to Charleston for the express purpose of settling the dispute.⁶⁰ But he found the Carolinians in no mood for compromise. They, too, had become stirred up over Oglethorpe's enjoyment of the £1000 intended for the South Carolina governor, not because they objected to Oglethorpe's receiving the money but because they feared it would mean that another salary for their governor would have to come out of their pockets. This they declared they would not agree to and were hostile to Oglethorpe in person as well as to Governor Glen across the ocean. In addition there was much trouble afoot among the Indian traders. Uncertainty about the trade had had its inevitable disquieting effect and the whole body of traders was becoming

⁵⁶ *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 66.

⁵⁷ Yet Egmont had recommended Glen for the governorship of South Carolina. Add. MSS. 32691, Fo. 362, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 331-332; *ibid.*, V, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 393.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, V, p. 160.

lawless and insubordinate.⁶¹ Particularly troublesome were the Carolina traders among the Creeks in Georgia.⁶² They were doing a great deal of mischief and clearly deserved punishment. The Georgia authorities longed to take necessary action against them but in the existing state of affairs did not dare.⁶³

Things were in such a state by January 1741 that Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees in despair telling them that the Carolinians clearly wanted to see Georgia destroyed and would listen to no reasonable proposal for settling the Indian trade controversy.⁶⁴ The Trustees replied to this in April of the same year by asking him to let them know what had been done to carry out their instructions.⁶⁵ They were beginning to realize, as were all involved, that some settlement must be reached if the trade was to be kept in English hands. Moreover a settlement seemed more probable since Glen's former attitude of hostility toward the Trustees had given way to one of cordiality and he was eager to see a reconciliation brought about. This was of course entirely politic on Glen's part. He realized that if he was to have a quarrel with the South Carolina assembly he would do well to have the friendship of so influential a body of men as the Trustees.⁶⁶ The result, however, was salutary. On September 10, 1741, Glen met the Trustees at dinner to settle, at the king's instructions, their six-year-old controversy.⁶⁷

At this dinner a working agreement was made, which was at least fairly satisfactory to both factions.⁶⁸ It was decided that since the boundaries of Georgia and Carolina were still uncertain and it could not be definitely determined which Indian tribes belonged to Georgia, Carolina should have the licensing of half the Indian traders in Georgia, in return for which all Georgia traders should also be allowed to carry on trade with the Indians in Carolina. Governor Glen was anxious for Carolina to have the licens-

⁶¹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXX, p. 106.

⁶² Ga. C. R., XXII, pt. 1, p. 231; *ibid.*, V, p. 66; *ibid.*, I, p. 360. But see also *ibid.*, V, p. 345.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 231.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, V, p. 438. See also *ibid.*, V, p. 510.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 367; *ibid.*, V, p. 494.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, V, p. 546.

⁶⁷ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXX, pp. 389-390.

⁶⁸ Ga. C. R., V, pp. 546-548.

ing of more than half the traders, pointing out that because of the War of Jenkins' Ear and the consequent exodus from Savannah to Charleston, Georgia would be unable to produce enough traders to make up its half. He declared that the Indian trade would suffer in consequence and the Indians might be persuaded to turn to the French or Spanish traders. But Egmont replied that if this should prove to be the case the Georgia Indian commissioner should be authorized to license enough Carolina traders to make up the difference. He insisted upon half the traders being reserved to Georgia pointing out that when the intended act was once passed it would be difficult to amend it, and Georgia would surely grow and prosper enough to be soon able to supply its full quota of traders. At length Glen reluctantly agreed. The agreement likewise provided that security be given by the traders each in his own province, each to be punishable in his own colony for misconduct.

Glen then proposed that the South Carolina assembly be authorized to pass an act for both colonies regulating the trade and embodying these features. He promised to make the act conform to the wishes of the Trustees as nearly as possible. But Egmont was dubious of this arrangement, feeling that Glen might find himself unable to control the Assembly and a stand be taken from which the Assembly would be unwilling to withdraw.⁶⁹ He proposed instead, therefore, that William Stephens, then secretary of Georgia, be sent to Charleston to confer with the Assembly, and when an agreement had been reached it be sent to London for the Trustees' approval. After this South Carolina and the Trustees could pass parallel acts, which when confirmed by the king, should settle the Indian act controversy once and for all. Egmont was supported in this contention by the other Trustees, and Glen at length agreed.

This agreement brought the Georgia Indian act controversy virtually to an end. The Trustees never did pass their proposed act, nor did the South Carolina assembly, but the agreement represented a harmonious settling of the dispute and trading went on under its conditions. The licensing power continued to be divided between South Carolina and Georgia until the end of our period in 1756.

⁶⁹ *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 547.

The practical working of this plan was no better than could be expected of such a compromise. The South Carolina traders paid no attention to the Georgia commissioner and the Georgia traders paid none to the South Carolina commissioner. Violations were common on both sides and there was continued dissatisfaction. Nearly ten years later, in 1751, Henry Parker, then vice-president of Georgia, wrote to the Trustees that the Indian trade had needed regulating for years but that this was almost impossible to accomplish since the government of South Carolina granted licenses to whomsoever they wanted.⁷⁰ And on June 26, 1752 James Habersham, the leading merchant of Savannah at that time, pointed out in a letter that the divided authority in the licensing of Georgia traders was the cause of many difficulties with the Indians.⁷¹ But though the arrangement during that time was not an ideal one, it was fairly workable in practice, and the Georgia Indian trade continued to carry on.

⁷⁰ *Ga. C. R.*, XXVI, pp. 121, 170.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 401-402.

CHAPTER IV

OGLETHORPE'S POLICY OF INDIAN CONTROL

There was a great difference in outlook between the Trustees of Georgia sitting around their council table in London and the actual settlers of Georgia, living in a new world, facing new and difficult problems every day. Conscientious attempts were made to carry out the various acts of the Trustees and to abide by the decisions of the London courts in questions of conflict. But while these acts were being passed and these conflicts settled, throughout long years of dispute, daily life in Georgia continued; food was raised, settlements were defended, trade carried on and immediate problems settled as they arose.¹

Perhaps the greatest of these immediate problems was the Indian. It was vital to keep his friendship and good-will, and even more vital to make him feel that the white man, though benevolent, was his natural master. Though we have mentioned five Indian nations with which proprietary Georgia was concerned, there were only two with which her concern was immediate and vital. These were the Creeks and the Cherokees, both nations of some size and power and both so situated geographically that it had to be a question of either war or peace with them. There was no room for a *laissez faire* principle, particularly as English indifference in the case of the Creeks would have meant French or Spanish supremacy, and in the case of the Cherokees possible raids from more hostile Indian tribes to the north.

The Cherokees living to the north and northeast and extending up into North and South Carolina were the less important of these two nations, but their influence, though indirect, was nevertheless considerable and left its mark on the pages of Georgia history. The Cherokees acted as a two fold barrier.² They had long been allied

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, III (April 1733), p. 168, contains a description of Georgia by Oglethorpe.

² *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII, pp. 213-214.

with their neighbors the Catawba Indians in a common enmity for the Six Nations to the north, and though the opposing Indians lived quite far apart each side had the habit of sending raiding parties across Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania against the other. These war parties were of course a menace to the safety of the colonies across which they travelled.³ Moreover since both sides were allies of the British, by killing each other they only weakened the potential British military strength in time of conflict with the French or the Spanish. Every attempt therefore was made to keep peace among these Indian nations and Governor Gooch of Virginia and Governor George Clarke of New York in the years 1737-40 were especially notable in their attempts to accomplish this.⁴ These troubles took place outside the boundaries of Georgia, but there is little doubt that the Six Nations would have swept down through Georgia in raids on the Creeks and possibly on the Georgia colonists themselves, had the Cherokees not formed the barrier they did.⁵ Their influence on the one hand, therefore, was salutary.

On the other hand, however, the Cherokees acted as a barrier against desirable and natural immigration from the north.⁶ The Germans and Scotch Irish from Pennsylvania and New Jersey were migrating south, particularly into Virginia and North Carolina during the period of the Trustees' control of Georgia,⁷ but they never reached the more southern colonies until after 1761. There is little doubt that the wars between the Cherokees and the Six Nations, and after 1757 the war between the Cherokees and English, were the cause of this. This immigration would have had a desirable strengthening effect on the character of the Georgia colony, instilling in it independence and self reliance, but also inculcating a spirit of rebellion. This would have made of Georgia one of the first patriots in the Revolution, instead of one of the last loyalists as she was.⁸

³ William Gooch to the Board of Trade. C. O. 5: 1324, T, 49, pp. 307-309, L. C. Transcripts. C. O. 5: 1327, W, 64, L. C. Transcripts. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IV, p. 1313.

⁴ C. O. 5: 1324, T, 49, pp. 307-309, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵ C. O. 5: 1324, T, 61, p. 375, L. C. Transcripts. C. O. 5: 1327, W, 113, L. C. Transcripts.

⁶ In 1746 the Cherokees ceded to Governor Glen of South Carolina the land south and west of Long Canes Creek. C. O. 5: 373, K, 37, L. C. Photostat.

⁷ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V, p. liv.

⁸ C. O. 5: 1327, W, 70, L. C. Transcripts.

Though all this is a matter of conjecture, the importance of the Cherokees to Georgia remains a fact, as a trading nation, and as a buffer to the north. And during our period the friendship of these Indians was guarded in the usual way, by the constant bestowal of presents, by the sending of Indian agents to the various centers, and by the influence and diplomacy of the Georgia traders with the Cherokees.

The Creeks, however, presented a much more complex problem, and there was a variety of reasons for this. First possibly was the strength and nature of the tribe itself. The Creeks, as we have earlier mentioned, were a confederacy, absorbing new smaller tribes or the remnants of old tribes at every opportunity, and growing constantly at a time when the other Indian nations were losing in population. Moreover they held the most important location in the southeast, being a buffer for the English against both the French and the Spanish, and, more important still, they were clever enough to realize this. Best of the Indian tribes in North America the Creeks had some understanding of what was meant by the balance of power, and of the game of international politics in which Oglethorpe, Bienville and Montiano were engaged. And just as their white neighbors attempted to do, they were continually playing one nation off against another, never allowing the English, French or Spanish to feel certain of their allegiance too long. It was they, for example, who were to some extent responsible for the failure of the English to make friends with the Choctaw Indians, the Creeks fearing this would unduly strengthen the English and therefore lessen their strategic importance.

It was therefore vital to the Georgians to keep the friendship of so strong and influential an Indian nation as the Creeks, and this Oglethorpe upon arriving with his little band of settlers in 1733 straightway took steps to accomplish. But there was another very cogent reason for the need of this friendship. The Creeks were in possession of the land covered by the grant of the Georgia charter. Moreover they were in possession by treaty with the English, since in 1715 South Carolina had made a treaty with the Yamasee promising in return for peaceful settlement of their

own lands that no Englishmen would settle south of the Savannah.⁹ Oglethorpe therefore was holding a charter in violation of this treaty and the Yamacraw Indians, the branch of the Lower Creeks living just south of the Savannah, regarded his appearance with hostility, a hostility which, had it continued, could have meant the end of the settlement. However so great was Oglethorpe's tact and charm that with the help of a half-breed Indian interpreter, one Mary Musgrove of whom we shall hear much later, he mollified the Yamacraws and made a fresh treaty with them which was finally ratified by the Trustees on October 18, 1733.¹⁰ In this treaty the Trustees agreed to let traders carry goods to the Creek towns and trade with them at the rates and prices agreed to and annexed to the treaty. They declared that if any trader should injure a Creek he was to be tried and punished by English law. On the other hand any Creek injuring an Englishman was also to be punished, and should the Creeks become hostile to the Georgians the trade was to be withdrawn altogether from the offending town. The Indians agreed to return any runaway slaves, for which they were to receive a reward.¹¹ Lastly it was agreed that any unoccupied land of the Creeks was to be opened to British settlement.¹² Annexed to the treaty was the schedule of prices for use in the Indian trade. This treaty Oglethorpe signed with the Lower Creeks through their chief Tomochichi, and it served as the basis of Creek-English friendship for six years, until Oglethorpe made his famous visit to Coweta and replaced it with a new treaty.

But the treaty was only the beginning. The Creeks must of

⁹ *Ga. C. R.*, I, p. 238. Dr. Swanton has pointed out that the Yamacraws and the Yamacraw were regarded as former members of the Creek confederacy, and that it was as guardians of these tribes that the Creeks ceded to Oglethorpe the lands mentioned in the 1733 treaty. Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians*, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, III (July 1733), p. 384, contains an account of the signing of this treaty. For the text of this treaty, see *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, IV, (1920), pp. 12-16. See also *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXIII, pp. 522-523, and Force Transcripts—Georgia Records—Indians, no. 5, L. C.—Div. MSS. A summary of the terms of this treaty is given in Oldmixon, John, *The British Empire in America*, I, p. 531.

¹¹ This treaty was signed before the Trustees prohibited the importation of negro slaves into Georgia.

¹² In February, 1736, the Creeks ceded St. Simon's Island, with others contiguous to it, to the English. *Ga. C. R.*, III, 387. *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-1897*, pt. 2, p. 635.

course be won over to a personal allegiance and this Oglethorpe straightway set out to do. He realized that the most valuable asset the English could have was a firm friend among the Indians who would be influential enough to serve as their representative and make easier the task of controlling the natives. Accordingly, after winning the old Yamacraw chief Tomochichi to himself in friendship,¹³ he set about building up the prestige of this old man in every way possible and increasing his influence with his own people.¹⁴ The very next year after the settlement of the colony, he cannily arranged for the well-known visit of Tomochichi to London.¹⁵ In 1734 the old leader made the voyage across the Atlantic with a party of nine: Senauki his wife, Tooanahowi his nephew, Umpychi a chief of Palachacola, Hillispylli a leading warrior, three attendants, and an interpreter.¹⁶ On June 28, 1734 the party reached the Trustees' office in Westminster and on August 1 was given an audience with George II.¹⁷ The purpose of this visit was of course in part to get an official land grant from the Indians, but more especially to impress the Indians with the power of England and also to increase the prestige of Tomochichi with his own people as a representative of the English.¹⁸

¹³ The old Indian town where Tomochichi had lived before the founding of Savannah lay about a half mile out of town. "A New Voyage to Georgia by a Young Gentleman," in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, II, p. 41.

¹⁴ *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXIX, pp. 141-142, 349.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of Tomochichi's 1734 visit to England, see Jones, C. C., Jr., *Historical Sketch of Tomochichi Mico of the Yamacraws*, Chap. III, pp. 54-72. In Wilson, A., *Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, p. 18, there is reproduced the portrait of Tomochichi engraved by Kleinschmidt of Augsburg, Germany, from the original painting by Verelst in 1734. Hodge F. W., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, pt. 2, p. 776.

¹⁶ *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXII, p. 299.

¹⁷ For Tomochichi's speech to Trustees, see *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 177-178; for the answer of the Trustees, see *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXII, p. 317; for the answer of the King to Tomochichi at the audience of August 1, 1734, see *ibid.*, XXXII, p. 318.

¹⁸ The presents to Tomochichi on his London visit included two swans, three tubs of vines and ten dozen bottles of Burgundy wine. *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 201, 234. After the visit, the Trustees gave their accountant, Harmon Verelst, fifty guineas for his extra services in attending the Indians. *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 78. Verelst made the painting of Tomochichi and Tooanahowi mentioned above. Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians*, p. 109. For Tomochichi's opinion on Georgia and South Carolina, which was favorable to the former but unfavorable to the latter, see Force Transcripts—Georgia Records—Miscellaneous—1732-1796, L. C., Div. MSS.

Oglethorpe continued this policy after the party's return to Georgia.¹⁹ He instructed his agent to the Creeks, Captain Patrick Mackay, to support Tomochichi in all things.²⁰ He made a practice of handing over part of the presents which the English wished to make to the Creeks, to Tomochichi for distribution.²¹ And when the old man finally died in October 1739, Oglethorpe saw that he was given an elaborate English funeral.²² He ordered the corpse brought down to Savannah and buried in the center of one of the principal squares of the town,²³ Oglethorpe himself, with William Stephens and four military officers acting as pall bearers. And when the body was placed in the grave, seven minute guns were fired and the little company of forty men fired three volleys over the grave. This was of course a fine tribute to an old and trusted friend of Georgia and of the whites, but it also served deeply to impress the Creeks with the importance and position of their deceased English representative. It was a sort of appeal to the love of display which the Indians always had to a very marked degree and its effect was excellent and sustained.

In 1739 Oglethorpe made his hazardous journey to Coweta to insure the friendship of the Creeks. He left Savannah on July 17 with Lieutenant George Dunbar, Ensign Leman and a cadet named Thomas Eyre and went up the Savannah river to Uchee Town where he had arranged with some Indian traders to meet him with horses.²⁴ From there, under the guidance of the traders he finished the journey to Coweta where he was received by the Creeks with the warmest of welcomes.²⁵ They had even gone out forty miles to meet him and travel that distance with him back to the town

¹⁹ Until 1738 the Trustees gave Tomochichi an annual fixed allowance for Indian presents. Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 473.

²⁰ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 139.

²¹ Oglethorpe was absent from Georgia on a visit to England from November, 1736, to September, 1738 (Jones, C. C., Jr., *The History of Georgia*, I, pp. 258-260) but during his absence his policies were continued in the colony.

²² For an excellent description of Tomochichi's funeral, see Ga. C. R., IV, p. 428.

²³ Tomochichi was buried in Percival Square. Jones, C. C., Jr., *Historical Sketch of Tomochichi Mico of the Yamacraws*, p. 121. After 1764, Percival Square was called Wright Square.

²⁴ Stephens' *Journal*, July 17, 1739, in Ga. C. R., IV, p. 372.

²⁵ Lt. George Dunbar to Harmon Verelst, Oct. 14, 1739, in Ga. C. R., IV, p. 216.

itself.²⁶ While at Coweta, the General was stricken with a fever which prostrated him for days but from which he finally recovered without mishap.²⁷ His visit in spite of the difficulties involved was a complete success. The chief motive for this visit and one which we shall take up in detail much later had been the impending war with Spain and the consequent need for the English colonies of Creek support. But Oglethorpe not only succeeded triumphantly in the prime motive of his visit, but also while there negotiated another treaty with the Creeks which was to act as the basis for Creek-English friendship for the remainder of the period we have under consideration.²⁸

This treaty reaffirmed all previous grants to the Trustees of land upon the Savannah river as far as Ogeechee and all lands along the sea coast as far as the St. John's river and as far inland as the tide flowed, and all islands as far as the St. John's, particularly the islands of Frederica, Cumberland and Amelia. The Creeks reserved for themselves all the lands from Pipemaker's Bluff to Savannah and the sea islands of St. Catherine's, Ossabaw and Sapelo.

Oglethorpe was a very far sighted man,²⁹ and in the years in which he was keeping the old man Tomochichi supreme as English friend and English representative he was already building up the prestige of another Indian ally who was to serve him and his successors for many years to come. This was the woman, earlier mentioned as Oglethorpe's interpreter to the Yamacraws, Mary Musgrove.³⁰ Mary Musgrove was the daughter of an English trader and an Indian Princess, the sister of the Creek Emperor, Old Brims. She had been born at Coweta town about 1700 and brought up there for ten years when she was taken to Ponpon, South Carolina and there baptized. She stayed among the English

²⁶ Oglethorpe to Trustees, Sept. 5, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 208.

²⁷ *Idem.*

²⁸ For the terms of this treaty, see *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, IV (1920), pp. 5-8. For an itemized account of Oglethorpe's expenses, which totalled £529-0-9½, see *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXIII, pp. 91-93. See also *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 238 and *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXX, p. 212. On the land grants, see *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXIII, pp. 522-523.

²⁹ Stephens, W. B., *A History of Georgia*, I, p. 96.

³⁰ For a sketch of Mary Musgrove, see Coulter, E. M., "Mary Musgrove, 'Queen of the Creeks': A chapter of early Georgia Troubles," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XI, (1927), pp. 1-30.

in South Carolina from that time until the end of the Yamassee war in 1716, when she went back among her people in the region south of the Savannah river. There she met and married John Musgrove, a prominent Indian trader and a member of the South Carolina assembly, who had been sent by Governor Craven of South Carolina to make peace with the Creeks. Up to this time Mary had been known by the Indian name of Coosaponakeesa, but now she changed her name to Mary Musgrove and in 1723 the couple went back to South Carolina to live. Nine years later they returned to Mary's people and built a trading house at Yamacraw Bluff. It was here that Oglethorpe first met the woman who was to play such an important part in the Indian affairs of Georgia. Her life had ideally suited her for the part she was to play, since she was equally familiar with the Indian and the English mode of life and personality, and had many friends on both sides.

Oglethorpe was quick to see the value of such an ally as Mary Musgrove. Their very first meeting was friendly and they continued so throughout the whole of the commissioner's stay in Georgia. Upon meeting Mary he immediately made use of her as interpreter in forming the treaty with the Yamacraws in 1733 and there is no doubt that Mary's personality was quite as important as Oglethorpe's in changing the spirit of the Indians from enmity to friendship at that time. From this time on, Mary and her husband, John Musgrove, were regular interpreters to Oglethorpe and the Georgians in their dealings with the Indians.³¹ When John Wesley paid his visit to Tomochichi with the hope of educating the Indians it was John Musgrove who acted as interpreter between the two, and Wesley is known to have been welcomed more than once as a visitor at the Musgrove plantation, six miles up the river from Savannah.³² The Musgroves became firm friends of the new little colony and valuable friends, since at this time the Musgroves

³¹ *Ga. C. R.*, II, p. 327.

³² On John Wesley's efforts to educate the Indians, and especially in connection with the school "Irene," see *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 530; Curnock, N. (ed.), *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, I, p. 405. The Trustees appropriated money for schools for the Indians. *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXII, pp. 509-510, 566-567. On the subject of Indian education in colonial Georgia, see Corry, J. P., "Education in Colonial Georgia," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XVI, (1932), pp. 136-145.

were people of some wealth and importance, and the colony of Georgia weak and helpless.

Oglethorpe's next use of Mary Musgrove was to dispatch her to set up an outpost against the Spanish. At his request she set up a trading house called Mount Venture on the south side of the Altamaha and a hundred and fifty miles above its mouth from which vantage point she could inform herself on the activities of the Spaniards at St. Augustine and transmit any alarming news to Savannah or Frederica.³³ While she was there Mary suffered the loss of her husband, John Musgrove,³⁴ a loss which was even greater than anyone at the time realized, for Mary's subsequent marital ventures were to prove less fortunate and to have a definite bearing both on her life and on the life of the Georgia colony. Shortly after Musgrove's death Mary married Jacob Matthews, a captain of the twenty rangers stationed at Mount Venture.³⁵ He had formerly been an indentured servant and had even worked for Mary in that capacity. He was strong and attractive, a "lusty fellow" William Stephens called him—but his new prosperity gave him false ideas of his own importance and his influence on Mary was none too good.

In the meantime, however, Mary and Oglethorpe were becoming firmer and firmer friends and Oglethorpe was doing everything possible to build up her prestige and to make use of that prestige to English advantage. On all important occasions henceforth Mary served as interpreter for Oglethorpe.³⁶ He frequently called on her for advice, and whenever trouble with the French or Spanish arose it was through Mary that Oglethorpe was able to influence the Creeks to stand by the British. Particularly during the War of Jenkin's Ear did Mary Musgrove's friendship for Oglethorpe show itself. She rallied the Creeks to the support of the British general in his expedition against St. Augustine and even when her own brother was killed before the walls of that city her allegiance did not falter. But these are just a few of the long series of services

³³ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 242; *Ga. C. R.*, IV, pp. 319, 511.

³⁴ All Mary's children by John Musgrove had died previously. *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, 128-129; 213.

³⁶ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXIX, p. 99.

which this Indian woman rendered her English friends, and which were to continue until circumstances and influences brought about a change in her sentiment toward Georgia.³⁷

As early as 1735 the Trustees in recognition of her services as interpreter sent Mary £20 sterling, an adequate proof of their good opinion of her.³⁸ In 1738 while Oglethorpe was in the south fighting the Spaniards, William Stephens as co-commissioner learned that there were fifty warriors of the Upper Creek nation on their way to Savannah. Realizing that such a visit might prove dangerous, particularly if the Indians got drunk as they were apt to do, his first thought was of Mary Musgrove. He accordingly sent the entire delegation to the plantation of Mary, "whom," as Stephens himself remarked in his journal, "they all have resort to on these occasions."³⁹ He promised to pay the expenses of the entertainment, but looked to Mary to keep these warriors contented, since their friendship at this juncture was invaluable.

In the next year, April 1739, while Mary was at Mount Venture and shortly after her marriage to Jacob Matthews, the Georgian again appealed to Mary. At the request of Oglethorpe, Lieutenant Horton with a few friends went to visit her to ask her help with the Yamacraw Indians of Tomochichi.⁴⁰ These Creeks were planning an attack on the Yamassee Indians in Florida. Oglethorpe knew that this would lead to a definite break with Spain, a circumstance which at the time he was very anxious to avoid. He was therefore eager for Mary and her husband to join him in Frederica and exert her influence with the Creeks. This she agreed to do and accomplished successfully.⁴¹ Stephens in his journal of the next year remarks that Mary was always remarkably well thought of by Oglethorpe because of her influence with the Creeks, and

³⁷ When Oglethorpe was making his preparations to attack St. Augustine in 1740, he called into service the overseer from Mary's plantation and cowpen at Savannah. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 319. The overseer was killed during the siege of the city and the plantation left without a keeper. The cattle were stolen from the cowpen and the plantation went to ruin.

³⁸ *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXIX, p. 99.

³⁹ *Stephens' Journal*, Sept. 20, 21, 1738. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, pp. 203-204.

⁴⁰ *Stephens' Journal*, May 1, 1739. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 328.

⁴¹ *Stephens' Journal*, May 2, 1739. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 328.

that Oglethorpe frequently asked her advice on Indian matters and showed respect for her opinion.⁴²

In 1741 during the Creek-Cherokee war two Cherokees who had been with Oglethorpe at St. Augustine found themselves in the neighborhood of Savannah. Being afraid they would be killed by the Creeks but trusting in Mary's friendship for all English allies, they went for protection to her plantation.⁴³ Stephens, learning of this, requested Mary to send the Cherokees to Savannah and promised to put them on a boat bound for Augusta from whence they could easily return to their own villages. Through the joint efforts of Mary and Stephens this was accomplished⁴⁴ and the Cherokees reached their homes in safety.⁴⁵ In June of the same year, the Wolf, a noted Creek chief, came to Mrs. Matthews' plantation near Savannah where he was entertained.⁴⁶ While there, negotiations were carried on with him by William Stephens with a view toward building up the English-Creek friendship, and the Wolf finally departed well satisfied and firm in loyalty for the English cause. That very month Oglethorpe sent to Savannah for Mary to come to Frederica to act as interpreter at an important meeting with the Creeks who had just arrived to aid him against the Spaniards.⁴⁷ Again Mary complied and again proved herself invaluable.

The following year Mary returned to Savannah with her husband because of his failing health. While she was in Savannah her outpost at Mount Venture was entirely destroyed by marauding Spanish Indians⁴⁸ and the entire body of settlers which she had gathered around her lost.⁴⁹ Tragic as was its end, the outpost, and Mary's term there, had served its purpose.

⁴² Stephens' *Journal*, Feb. 22, 1740. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, pp. 518-519. See also *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 566.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, p. 88.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, p. 103-104.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, p. 160.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, supp. to IV, p. 163.

⁴⁸ Jacob Matthews had applied to Oglethorpe in 1740 to have Mount Venture defended. Oglethorpe had replied that he could not divide the regiment, but he appointed Matthews a garrison of twenty men which he empowered Matthews to raise. *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXVII, p. 242.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 54. The Spanish Indians promised to spare the lives of all persons at Mount Venture but after the surrender they killed all the men except two and also a woman and a child. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 54.

Matthews died soon after their arrival in Savannah and Oglethorpe paused in his war with Spain to write Mary a letter of condolence.⁵⁰ But shortly thereafter so great was his need of her in the Spanish counter-attack on Georgia that Oglethorpe again wrote to Mary, explaining that though he had defeated the Spaniards in two fights he badly needed help, and requesting her to send all the Indians she could rally to his aid.⁵¹ This she must have done for later in the same month the general gave Mary as a present an Indian servant whom he had captured from the Spaniards.⁵² The next year, 1743, Mary's plantation once more served as a bond between the white and the red men when Indians on their way to join Oglethorpe at Frederica stopped there and were lavishly fed and housed.⁵³

The year 1743 however proved to be an unlucky one for Mary Musgrove Matthews and indeed for the colony of Georgia. In that year Oglethorpe who had for ten years acted as a friend and a steadying influence on the half breed woman, as well as a continual link between the white and the red men of Georgia, returned to England. He promised Mary £100 a year for her services as interpreter and when he left Savannah in his final farewell to Georgia he gave her a diamond ring and £200 with the promise of more to follow.⁵⁴ His departure was a misfortune. It probably marked the turning point in Mary's relations with Georgia, though this did not culminate until a few years later after her unfortunate marriage with Thomas Bosomworth.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Oglethorpe to Mrs. Mary Matthews, June 20, 1742, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 243-244.

⁵¹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 244.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 245.

⁵³ Ga. C. R., VI, p. 72.

⁵⁴ Spalding, Thomas, *A Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe*, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, p. 252.

⁵⁵ Thomas Bosomworth had been ordained minister to Savannah in 1742. S.P.G. MSS—Series B, XIII, no. 10, L. C. Photostats. The S.P.G. paid him a salary of £50 a year. S.P.G. MSS—Series B, XII, no. 136, L. C. Photostats. For a sketch of Thomas Bosomworth's life, see Coulter, E. M., "Mary Musgrove, 'Queen of the Creeks': A Chapter of early Georgia Troubles," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XI (1927), pp. 1-30.

In June, 1744, Major William Horton,⁵⁶ in charge of the British regiment, appealed to Mary asking her to hurry all the Creeks possible down to his aid at Frederica.⁵⁷ In September he again wrote to tell her that the Indians at Frederica were dissatisfied with the presents he had given them and to ask her to come there to his aid.⁵⁸ This she did, and it is proof of her influence that three weeks later Horton in a letter to Thomas Bosomworth remarked that before Mary's arrival in Frederica he was harassed to death, and all that he did fell short of the red men's expectations, whereas after her arrival the Indians seemed quite well satisfied with everything.⁵⁹ The next year, in 1745, Oglethorpe wrote to Major Horton from Durham, England, asking him to support Mary in every way possible.⁶⁰ The Spanish faction among the Creeks, he stated, were making the utmost endeavor to destroy the influence of Mary and so great was her power and so important to the English interest that every effort should be made to preserve it. The next year he wrote a friendly letter to Mary herself in which he promised to recommend her past services to the Trustees.⁶¹

In 1747 when the Creek-Cherokee war broke out and the Creeks threatened to desert to the Spaniards⁶² the English turned to Mary more than ever for help. Horton must have taken the words of Oglethorpe to heart for he sent Mary £200 sterling worth of Indian presents to give out at her trading house at the forks of the Altamaha and even went so far as to agree to give Mary an annual allowance for Indian presents which she was to distribute as she saw fit.⁶³ The Creek loyalty to England wavered in this crisis, but Mary Musgrove Matthews Bosomworth's term of alliance was drawing to a close. Colonel Alexander Heron, who succeeded

⁵⁶ When James Pemberton, the Philadelphia merchant, visited Frederica in 1745, he was well treated by Horton. James Pemberton's Diary, Oct. 30, 1745.

⁵⁷ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 249.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 251-252.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 252.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 252-254.

⁶¹ Oglethorpe to Mrs. Bosomworth, July 16, 1746, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 256.

⁶² A. G. I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 314, 315, 319, L. C. Transcripts.

⁶³ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 259; see also *ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 665-666. Mary had established a trading house at the forks of the Altamaha in 1745. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Horton, did not continue her allowance⁶⁴ and depended on her help less than had any of his predecessors. He also, it might be observed, had less success in holding the loyalty of the Creeks. Nevertheless he recognized the value of the half-breed woman as his letters show and made some efforts to hold her friendship.⁶⁵ At one time he wrote of Mary, "I have had personal Knowledge of her Merit since my first arrival in this Country and am highly Sensible of the Singular Service she has done her Country . . . in continuing the Creek Indians in Friendship and alliance with the English; and since Malatchi the Emperor's arrival here, I am more than ever Convinced that she is looked upon by the whole Creek Nation as their Natural princess, and any Injury done to her would be equally Resented as if it were done to the whole Nation. . . . She is a Woman of such consequence that if she is driven to the necessity of Flying to her Indian Friends for Bread, it will be morally impossible for me to Maintain his Majesty's peace and authority among them."⁶⁶ It is perhaps a pity that with this knowledge and insight he did not make more effort to win Mary's support.

The testimony of the officers of Oglethorpe's regiment in 1747 also bears out the importance of the woman Mary. They stated that the whole Creek nation was greatly under her influence, that Mary had always been loyal to the English, that she had brought down many Creeks to support the English against the Spaniards and that due to her influence, the Creeks had been a strong barrier to Georgia and South Carolina against the Spaniards.⁶⁷ There is no doubt that one of the most influential persons in Georgia Indian relations was Mary Musgrove Matthews Bosomworth.⁶⁸

Thus we have the policy of the Georgia commissioners in their efforts to control the Indians, and particularly the Creeks, a policy apparently evolved by Oglethorpe and based largely on the use of various types of personal influence. We have the influence of the

⁶⁴ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 260.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 264.

⁶⁶ Alexander Heron to Andrew Stone, Deputy Secretary of State, Dec. 8, 1747. Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 265.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 267-268.

⁶⁸ S. C. Indian Books, 1752-1753, III, 19.

commissioner himself, strongest during the rule of Oglethorpe, but effective even in the later years; the influence of his Indian agents, carefully picked and placed in the central Indian towns to keep the friendship of the red men and a wary watch on all new developments; the influence of the Indian traders in their control of the supply of goods; and last and most important the influence of two strong Indian personalities, the stronger because of their prestige being built up and elaborated through the friendship and strategy of Oglethorpe. Through this latter influence, and especially through the influence of Mary Musgrove, the Creeks were kept in virtually constant friendship for Georgia throughout our period.

CHAPTER V

OGLETHORPE AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA

The British statesmen in the first half of the eighteenth century did not concern themselves with colonial conquests. Their chief attention was centered in Europe, as was natural and inevitable. Their attention was directed to three things. In England they wanted to keep the Hanoverians on the throne under the leadership of the Whigs, and to defeat all attempts of the Stuarts to regain their lost authority. On the continent they strove to maintain a balance of power, a policy which is indissolubly linked with England. After George I became king, they endeavored to protect and safeguard his electorate of Hanover. England had no interest in acquiring extensive tracts of land in distant parts of the world. Her statesmen were good mercantilists, who held that no possessions should be taken over except those which would serve mercantilist ends: the furnishing of a source of supply for needed raw products, the creating of a market for English manufactured goods, or the protecting of other colonies which did these two things. The chief concern of the mercantilists was the building up of commerce, not the acquisition of territory.

The mercantilists shaped the British policy in the matter of colonial defense. This problem was to protect the colonists from the Indians in peace time and to guard them from the French and the Spaniards aided of course by their Indian allies, when war broke out. Various schemes were proposed for doing these two things, and different plans were tried in different colonies. In later years the problem of colonial defense was recognized as an imperial one, and was dealt with from an imperial point of view. In the period which we are discussing, however, the idea of empire had few adherents and colonial defense was in the main treated as a local matter to be handled by each colony individually. The

system followed by South Carolina was in general use among most of the British colonies and among the French and Spaniards as well. This system was based on a series of Indian alliances, formed partly for trade but no less useful as forming a barrier behind which the colonists could live in security. The Cherokees and the Creeks afforded protection to the people of South Carolina, as the Iroquois did to their countrymen of New York.

While these Indian alliances served a useful purpose in protecting the English colonies, they were not enough in themselves to constitute a complete defense. Soldiers were necessary when England became involved in a war with France or Spain. This necessity brought up the problem of how the troops were to be raised and of who was to pay for their support.¹ The two obvious divisions into which the troops fall are militia and regular troops. The militia were not only the true militia, the entire population permanently organized in companies and regiments, but also colonial troops raised by vote of a colonial assembly for a specified period and paid and supplied by that body. The regular troops were supported by Parliament.

The question of colonial defense was pressing in 1737, in view of the strained relations between England and Spain over trade in the West Indies and their dispute as to the ownership of the debatable land of Georgia. At this time Oglethorpe was looked on as being one of the best informed men in England on the subject of colonial defense. He had recently returned to London from Georgia, and on February 4 he had a long talk with Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister, who was at a loss what to do in American affairs with respect to the security of the colonies. Sir Robert asked Oglethorpe to suggest some plan for defending them. Oglethorpe wrote out his ideas and gave them to the prime minister the next day.² He stated that there were but two ways of defending the colonies from the French and Spaniards and their Indians, the one by forming a regular and warlike militia, the other by

¹ For an excellent discussion of this subject see Pargellis, S. M., *Lord Loudoun in North America*, Chap. 1, "Colonial Defense before 1756." Dr. Pargellis outlines the methods used for colonial defense and explains why this problem was never solved.

² Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 339.

keeping a body of regular troops. A substantial militia was not to be had for want of enough white men. Oglethorpe stated that he could form about three hundred men capable of bearing arms in Georgia; South Carolina had money but no men; North Carolina had men but no money; Pennsylvania had both; Virginia had only men; New England had men but no money; and New York had money and few men.³ If the defence were left to a militia it would be expensive, because they must be paid when in service for the neglect of their own affairs. Oglethorpe therefore believed it would be better to have regular troops. Walpole said that it would be hard to keep a sufficient body of soldiers because of the expense. Oglethorpe answered that the expense would amount to about £20,000 a year, but that if the king would allow a draft of two men out of each company of infantry and two out of each troop of dragoons in the English establishment, it would cost little more than the present expense. Walpole said that the king would not consent to this.

Oglethorpe said that in this case new troops would have to be raised. He recommended that a battalion of five hundred men be sent to each colony, and stated that he thought the colonies would themselves pay the expense.⁴ This proposal met Walpole's approval, and he asked for added details. Oglethorpe said that it would be necessary to put these forces under the command of a single officer. If the command were left to the individual governors, they would almost certainly differ among themselves as to what course of action to follow, or would place the safety of their own provinces ahead of the general safety of all. This divided command would defeat any measures which would be necessary to defending the colonies. Walpole approved of these suggestions of Oglethorpe.⁵

Oglethorpe's plan for the defense of the colonies thus contemplated the employment of British regulars. In spite of obvious advantages which this method afforded, it was not regarded with favor by the mercantilists, who wanted the colonies to provide for their own defense.

³ Egmont's *Diary*, II, pp. 339-340.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 340-341.

Oglethorpe's military career in Georgia had begun with the founding of the colony, since the new province was avowedly established as a buffer for South Carolina against the attacks of the French, the Spaniards, and the Indians. His position as head of this march colony made it inevitable that he should be a soldier. But his military reputation soon led to his becoming the recognized defender of the southern frontier. In 1735 Walpole was disturbed by the danger threatening the English colonies from the French in Louisiana.⁶ He had then urged Oglethorpe to accept the governorship of South Carolina, but Oglethorpe declined because he felt that the interests of the two colonies might clash.⁷ He agreed to go back over to Georgia, however, on condition that he be given the power of militia which the king had reserved to himself in the Georgia charter and which at this time was exercised by Governor Robert Johnson of South Carolina. He also demanded power over the militia of South Carolina.

As it became more and more evident that in spite of Walpole's efforts to preserve peace, a war between England and Spain was sure to take place,⁸ both the prospective combatants began to make preparations for the coming struggle. It was clear to all that one theater of war would be the Georgia-Florida border, and to its defense the English turned their attention. In 1737 Walpole asked Oglethorpe if he would accept the command of all the British forces in America.⁹ Oglethorpe replied that he would. The prime minister inquired if accepting this office would prevent Oglethorpe from continuing to sit in Parliament. Oglethorpe assured him that he need not lose his seat, since this was a military, not a civil employment. Walpole then urged Oglethorpe, as he had done earlier in 1735, to accept the governorship of South Carolina but this Oglethorpe refused to do.¹⁰ His reasons for refusing were two

⁶ Several representations were laid before the Board of Trade in the period 1715-1735 setting forth the danger the British colonies were in from the growing power of the French in America. Add. MSS. 33028, p. 491, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 159.

⁸ Add. MSS. 32794, fo. 252, L. C. Transcripts; Add. MSS. 33028, pp. 497, 522, 523.

⁹ Egmont's *Diary*, II, pp. 340-341.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 159.

fold: he feared that the interests of Georgia and South Carolina might clash, as he had said earlier, and he did not want to give up his seat in Parliament as he would have to do if he accepted a civil office in the colonies.¹¹ His appointment would have been popular in Carolina, where the people in 1737 wanted him for their governor.¹²

An additional reason for Oglethorpe's unwillingness to accept the South Carolina governorship was that it would have added to his civil duties in which he was not greatly interested and would thus have taken his attention from military affairs, to which he wished to devote all his time. He was the only man seriously considered for the command of the defense of the southern frontier in the approaching Spanish war. Walpole offered Oglethorpe a commission as captain-general of the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, but Oglethorpe refused to accept it unless he were given a regiment of seven hundred men with the commission of colonel, with which to defend the two colonies.¹³ The following month Walpole approved the sending of a regiment to protect Georgia, if a fund could be found for it.¹⁴ Oglethorpe suggested that the companies in the mainland colonies and in the West Indies be reduced, and the money thus saved be applied to the support of a regiment in Georgia. If this were done, Oglethorpe estimated that the cost of the regiment would not exceed £15,000 a year. He added that unless he were given the regiment he would not undertake the defense of the southern frontier. In June, Oglethorpe was assured by the ministry that he should have a regiment of six hundred men, and should be constituted commander-in-chief of the military forces in South Carolina and Georgia.¹⁵ His commission was dated June 20, 1737.¹⁶

Oglethorpe proceeded at once to the raising of his regiment. Governor Trelawney of Jamaica stoutly opposed the taking of any companies out of that island, and threatened to throw up his office

¹¹ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 401.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 374, 477.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 383.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 401.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 412.

¹⁶ *Treasury Books and Papers*, III, p. 583.

if this were done.¹⁷ This was a minor difficulty, however, and by September plans had taken definite shape. As Oglethorpe explained to Egmont, he was to have a regiment of six hundred men, and to name his own officers, except that Captain Cochrane, an old officer now in a regiment on the Irish Establishment, had been recommended to him by Henry Pelham,¹⁸ Paymaster General of the Forces.¹⁹ Oglethorpe intended to make Captain Patrick Mackay major, to appoint some ensigns from Georgia; the rest were to be half-pay officers who had served in Spain. The regiment was to be composed of two hundred fifty men drafted out of the Earl of Rothe's regiment on the Irish Establishment, and at this time stationed at Gibraltar,²⁰ and the Independent company then in Georgia.²¹ The rest Oglethorpe was to recruit in England. Rothe's regiment was to be recruited and filled up out of England²² and then returned to Ireland. Walpole had wished to send Rothe's regiment entire to Georgia, with its own officers. Oglethorpe opposed this, however, and took the matter to the king himself. In an audience with George II, he induced him to give up the idea of sending Rothe's regiment. Oglethorpe's regiment was soon raised,²³ and the necessary supplies provided.²⁴ James Vernon, one of the Georgia Trustees, told Egmont in March, 1738, that Walpole intended to keep Oglethorpe in England and not to allow him to go again to Georgia "as believing his head too full of schemes, and that he may possibly by his warmth of temper run the Colony into an unnecessary quarrel with Spain."²⁵ Walpole intended to send Lieutenant Colonel Cochrane instead. This intention was not carried out. On March 30, 1738, Oglethorpe invited all the Georgia Trustees to dinner at the White Hart in Holborn to see a part

¹⁷ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 418.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 433-434.

¹⁹ *Treasury Books and Papers*, III, p. 391.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 482.

²¹ This company was stationed in 1735 at Fort King George. Add. MSS 32797, fo. 292, L. C. Transcripts.

²² It was later decided to fill the vacancies in Rothe's regiment by levies made in Ireland. *Treasury Books and Papers*, III, p. 351.

²³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 482.

²⁴ C. O. 5: 5, p. 201, L. C. Transcripts; *Treasury Books and Papers*, III, p. 394.

²⁵ Egmont's *Diary*, II, pp. 469-470.

of his regiment march through.²⁶ Egmont stated that he never saw a finer set of young fellows, all under thirty years old. They marched gaily, he said, but the sergeants and corporals were too few. The new recruits embarked at Portsmouth for Gibraltar where they were to join the men from Rothe's regiment and to proceed with them to Georgia.²⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Cochrane arrived at Savannah in May with part of the regiment²⁸ and in September Oglethorpe reached Frederica with the rest of it.²⁹ These troops were to remain in Georgia until 1749.³⁰

Though Oglethorpe was unwilling to take upon himself the duties of the governorship of South Carolina he was naturally interested in seeing that a friend of Georgia was appointed. He accordingly requested Walpole to have Colonel Horsey elevated to this post.³¹ Horsey was a friend of the Georgia Trustees and under obligations to them. The new appointee soon died of apoplexy and James Glen succeeded him. The divided authority with military affairs under the control of Oglethorpe and civil matters under that of the governor had a curious effect. The salary of the captain-general of the forces in South Carolina was £1,000 a year, while the governor's office carried no salary.³² It had been expected that the two offices would be held by the same man, and that thus the governor's salary would be provided for. Oglethorpe had been a friend of Horsey, and had offered to share his salary with him.³³ Toward Glen he entertained less kindly feelings, and a bitter quarrel developed between the two over the £1,000. In 1739, Glen tried to secure for himself the military commission but the Privy Council refused to support his claims.³⁴

Walpole's rule stirred up an opposition that grew slowly in

²⁶ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 475.

²⁷ *Treasury Books and Papers*, III, p. 540.

²⁸ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 501.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 510, 516.

³⁰ The regiment was disbanded in 1749, but in 1755, after the outbreak of the French and Indian War, Oglethorpe presented a memorial to the king asking that the old regiment be revived. Add. MSS 32859, fo. 187, L. C. Transcripts.

³¹ Egmont's *Diary*, II, p. 368.

³² *Ibid.*, II, p. 412.

³³ *Ibid.* II, pp. 417-418.

³⁴ *Ibid.* III, pp. 22-23.

strength. It consisted of the Tory party as the center, but included a number of Whigs, among them Carteret, Pulteney, George Grenville, and William Pitt. The opposition, except for the Tories, had no fixed principles; its main object was to overthrow Walpole. The quarrel with Spain in the late seventeen-thirties gave this opposition its chance. In 1738 it precipitated a debate in Parliament on the duty of Great Britain to protect its merchants and to defend the British seamen from the attacks of the Spaniards in the West Indies. Captain Jenkins, an English trader, had circulated the story that his ear had been cut off by the Spaniards. Jenkins was now brought before the bar of the house of commons, where he produced what he said was the lost ear. Popular sentiment already favored some action against Spain, and in 1739 Walpole was forced to declare war.

In June 1739 Oglethorpe received instructions to prepare Georgia for defense against the Spaniards, and in the following April he was ordered to attack St. Augustine.³⁵ The story of this attack, of the siege of St. Augustine and of Oglethorpe's defeat has been told by a number of writers.³⁶ South Carolina sent aid in both men and money,³⁷ but this aid was of doubtful value. Oglethorpe himself had offered his entire estate, real and personal, in addition to his salary, as security for the loans needed to finance the expedition.³⁸ But the inability of the fleet to co-operate with the land forces because of the shallow water plus the stubborn defense of the Spaniards, led to the failure of the expedition.

At the same time Vernon and Wentworth were meeting a similar fate in the West Indies.³⁹ Vernon took Porto Bello with six ships, a victory particularly pleasing to the English since the hated *guarda-costas* had fitted out at this port. Reinforcements of twenty-

³⁵ *Treasury Books and Papers*, V, p. 64.

³⁶ See e.g. Jones, C. C. Jr. *The History of Georgia*, I, pp. 329-335; Coulter, E. M., *A Short History of Georgia*, pp. 41-45.

³⁷ Egmont's *Diary*, III, pp. 129, 130, 141.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 146.

³⁹ Lord Elibank's journal of the Carthagera expedition is in C. O. 5: 41, pp. 441-485, L. C. Photostats. For the letters of Brigadier-General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon relating to the expedition against Carthagera and Porto Bello from October 3, 1740, to November 23, 1743, see C. O. 5: 42, L. C. Photostats.

five ships were sent to him under Sir Chaloner Ogle together with a force of nine thousand soldiers under Brigadier General Wentworth, who had succeeded to the command when Major General Lord Cathcart died. The expedition, aided by a force of Virginians under Governor Gooch, appeared off Carthagena on March 3, 1741, but not until April 9 was the assault made on San Lazaro, the key fort defending the city. The attack failed miserably, illness spread among the soldiers, and the expedition returned in defeat to Port Royal.⁴⁰ Vernon and Wentworth made a feeble effort to take Santiago on the island of Cuba. Troops were landed sixty miles away but no advance against the city was undertaken. An attack on Panama was determined on but the idea was soon abandoned. Vernon and Wentworth then quarrelled openly and both were recalled in 1742. The reasons for the English failure were the divided command, Wentworth's incompetence, and the antipathy between Vernon and Wentworth, as well as distance, disease and climate.

The counter attack of the Spaniards against Georgia was launched in 1742, and Oglethorpe's sturdy and intelligent defense of Frederica saved Georgia from destruction. Oglethorpe planned an offensive against St. Augustine in 1742-43, but he was not able to carry this into effect.⁴¹ In July, 1743, Oglethorpe left Georgia for the last time and returned to England.⁴²

Oglethorpe's military authority was of the character one expects to find it. After the outbreak of war against Spain, Oglethorpe granted commissions to privateers applying for them, raised two troops of rangers,⁴³ called down the Creek and Cherokee Indians to hinder the Spanish Indians (Yamassees) and the runaway slaves of Carolina from harassing the country and stirring up a slave revolt in South Carolina,⁴⁴ bought and hired armed boats, kept up the garrison at Fort Augusta, and fortified Frederica.⁴⁵ He commanded the regiment and the other troops, signed bills of exchange

⁴⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII, pp. 267-272.

⁴¹ C. O. 5: 5, pp. 235-236, L. C. Transcripts; *Treasury Books and Papers*, V, p. 65.

⁴² *Treasury Books and Papers*, V, p. 300.

⁴³ C. O. 5: 5, pp. 236-237.

⁴⁴ *Treasury Books and Papers*, V, p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, V, p. 28.

for his military expenses in Georgia,⁴⁶ planned and carried out the offensive campaign of 1740 and conducted the defense of 1742. These were the ordinary duties of a military commander.

In considering the office which Oglethorpe held as commander-in-chief of the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, one notes at once that this office was a purely military one. While it is true that Oglethorpe exercised extensive civil authority in Georgia, it is clear that he did not derive this civil authority from his military office, but from other sources. The Trustees gave him power of attorney to represent them in the colony, though they did not confer on him the title of governor. The Trustees were unwilling to appoint a titular governor because this would have required the approval of the Privy Council and such an official could have been removed only with the consent of the Privy Council. The advice of the Board of Trade would have had to be asked in such a case, and the hostility which existed between the Trustees and both the Board and the Privy Council was bitter enough to make the Trustees wish to keep the control of Georgia in their own hands.⁴⁷ In addition to holding the power of attorney,⁴⁸ Oglethorpe had a strong personal reputation, which increased his prestige in Georgia. Furthermore, in 1735 he had been appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Georgia, and by this appointment he was authorized to regulate the Indian trade of the colony and to supervise Indian affairs in general. So while Oglethorpe exercised civil authority in Georgia, he did so by virtue of the civil offices he held and not because of his military office.

As a matter of fact, instead of increasing Oglethorpe's civil authority, his military office was the cause of its being diminished. As the pressure of his military affairs became heavier and absorbed more and more of his time, Oglethorpe became increasingly neglectful of his civil duties. In doing this he aggravated a situation which was already bad, for Oglethorpe never liked to attend to the

⁴⁶ The payment of the bills of exchange signed by Oglethorpe was a matter of controversy for a time, but in 1744 the House of Commons voted to pay all these bills. It was a vindication of Oglethorpe from the attacks which had been made on him. Egmont's *Diary*, III, p. 293.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 171.

⁴⁸ McCain, J. R., *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, p. 65.

details of civil administration.⁴⁹ When the exigencies of the expedition against St. Augustine in 1740 caused Oglethorpe to neglect the civil affairs of the colony⁵⁰ the Trustees decided to act. James Vernon in particular was desirous of curtailing Oglethorpe's authority. Citing the instance of Oglethorpe's neglect of the light-house at Tybee, he suggested that all civil authority in Georgia be taken from Oglethorpe.⁵¹ The Trustees approved this suggestion, and Vernon then proposed that Georgia be cut into two divisions, a northern division and a southern division.⁵² Each division was to have a president and council, who were to be independent of the president and council of the other division. Vernon wanted William Stephens, the secretary of the Trustees in Georgia, to be named president of the northern division, which included Savannah and Augusta. Oglethorpe might be made president of the southern division, in which lay Frederica, since he lived there most of the time. Stephens was to be paid a handsome salary, while Oglethorpe was to receive none, since the charter would not permit a Trustee to hold an office of profit.⁵³ This plan of Vernon's was carried out in part. Georgia was divided into the northern division and the southern division, and Stephens was made president of the northern division. No officials, not even Oglethorpe, were appointed at this time for the southern division. Thus Oglethorpe was deprived of much of his civil authority. He continued to be commissioner for Indian Affairs, but he no longer held his position as virtual governor.

In South Carolina the separation of the civil and the military was even more clear. Oglethorpe had refused to accept the governorship of South Carolina when it was offered to him by Walpole, and one reason for this had been his unwillingness to add more civil duties to those he already had in Georgia. He had hoped to see Horsey governor of South Carolina, knowing that he could influence Horsey to do almost anything he wished. His plan mis-

⁴⁹ Egmont's *Diary*, III, p. 169.

⁵⁰ Oglethorpe's carelessness in rendering accounts was notorious. The Board of Trade objected to this characteristic. C. O. 5: 5, p. 244, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵¹ Egmont's *Diary*, III, p. 169.

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, p. 171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 172.

carried because of Horsey's sudden death, and James Glen, Horsey's successor, was bitter toward Oglethorpe because of the salary dispute. Thus the civil authority represented by Glen and the military represented by Oglethorpe were in conflict. In South Carolina as in Georgia, Oglethorpe's military office gave him no civil authority. The later situation under Lord Loudoun, who sought to add civil authority to military,⁵⁴ finds no parallel in Oglethorpe's day.

⁵⁴ Pargellis, S. M., *Lord Loudoun in North America*, Preface, v.

CHAPTER VI

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

In the period with which we are concerned, the Creek confederacy was to the British what the Choctaw nation was to the French: an inconstant ally. And just as the English made continual efforts to break French control over the Choctaws, so the French never ceased in their efforts to win the allegiance of the Creeks. The English consequently were never entirely sure of the continued loyalty of their allies, the Creeks, and were forced to make constant efforts to preserve it. The chief difference in these two cases was one of quality, for the Creeks, as we have already pointed out, were the most important nation in the southeast. Moreover, better than any other Indian nation they understood the triangular game of intrigue being played by England, France and Spain for supremacy in that region, and being skillful diplomats, instead of mere mercenary opportunists like the Choctaws, their friendship was correspondingly important to England, and more particularly to Georgia within whose limits most of the Creek nation lay.

We have seen the methods by which Georgia maintained control of the Creeks, notably under Oglethorpe through the exploitation of such Indian personalities as Tomochichi and Mary Musgrove. And we have seen the important part played by Mary Musgrove in particular, who for many years held the friendship of the Creeks in her own two hands to give or take away almost as she chose. But we must now look at the other side of the story, the forces at work against these English efforts at control.

No forces were more important or more powerful than the French.¹ In the first place they were established in a particularly

¹ There were thirteen French and three Swiss troops, a total of 800 soldiers in Louisiana in 1732. Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series A. 22, 135, L. C. Transcripts. In 1750 the French forces in Louisiana were increased to thirty-seven companies of fifty men each. Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series A. 22, 152, L. C. Transcripts.

favorable position to carry on trade and diplomatic relations with the Creeks. Mobile was in easy reach of both the Upper and Lower Creek Nation, and Fort Toulouse was even more conveniently placed. This outpost, having a continual garrison of thirty men sent out from among the companies stationed at Mobile, was a source of tremendous strength to the French and a corresponding source of irritation to the English. They feared French intervention among the Creeks and they particularly feared and resented French control of the Alabamas who lived in the near vicinity of the garrison.

The Alabamas (the only Creek tribe of which this was true) had long been loyal to the French but when Georgia was settled English traders began to try to break this allegiance and open trade. In 1735 two English traders accompanied by a number of Tallapoosa chiefs went down to establish storehouses in an Alabama village named Akoutamopa, just three miles distant from Fort Toulouse.² These traders offered goods at lower prices than the French, and the Alabamas were naturally inclined to trade with them. But so great was their loyalty that they first sent word to Bienville, saying that if he would grant them the same excellent terms of trade as the English they would break off all relations with these strangers and continue their allegiance to the French. Bienville wishing to hold them was forced to agree.³ The Alabamas, however, were not too loyal to be canny and realizing the danger in their proximity to Fort Augusta they were careful not to offend the English by open hostility. In fact when the French war with the Chickasaws broke out they took great pains to remain neutral.⁴ For some years the Georgians kept up their efforts to win over the Alabamas. In 1736 word reached Bienville that they were trying to persuade the Alabamas to destroy Fort Toulouse and kill all the French there,⁵ and in 1737 they again tried to induce the Alabamas to desert their old allies, encouraged by the success they were having with the Choctaws. Though they never succeeded in either of these attempts, they at least succeeded in keeping

² Bienville to Maurepas, April 14, 1735, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 258.

³ Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1735, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

⁵ Bienville to Maurepas, June 26, 1736, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 296.

Bienville and his colleagues uneasy and distracting them to some extent from further intrigues with the Creeks.⁶

The Creeks were important not only to the white men in the southeast but also to other Indian tribes, many of which sought their friendship. When the Chickasaws sent their delegation to Savannah after the French attack in 1736, this was clearly brought out.⁷ The Chickasaws in their interview with Oglethorpe told him that there was only one tribe on whose friendship they could count, the Cherokees. They added that the Creeks were almost their friends and this near-friendship was a bond which they were most anxious to strengthen. There was reason in this wish, for the Creeks had a way of being remarkably well informed on all that was going on around them. The Lower Creeks in particular, during the French-Chickasaw war, knew exactly what conditions were at any moment. When the Choctaws proposed to raid the Chickasaws and destroy their crops in 1737 the Creeks knew about it at least a month before the Choctaws expected to leave their villages.⁸ And soon after the attack was made, the Creeks knew of its outcome, which was accordingly relayed to Oglethorpe by his agent among the Creeks, Lieutenant Willy.⁹ The Creeks did shortly become good friends of the Chickasaws for after the raid of the Choctaws a small number of Chickasaws decided to migrate, and migrated to the Creeks who received them with kindness. Both the Creeks themselves and the Georgia traders urged the Chickasaws to settle down permanently in the Creek towns along the Chattahoochee, but when Lieutenant Governor Bull of South Carolina invited the immigrants to come and settle in New Windsor, they accepted.¹⁰ They did not remain there permanently however, but returned to their homes in the west the following year.¹¹

In the meantime the French were meeting English intrigue among

⁶ Diron d'Artaguet to Maurepas, May 8, 1737, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 340.

⁷ Second audience of Chickasaws with Oglethorpe, July 13, 1736, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXV, pp. 77-79.

⁸ Samuel Eveleigh to Verelst, June 25, 1737, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, p. 487.

⁹ Stephens' *Journal*, Feb. 16, 1738, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 82.

¹⁰ Samuel Eveleigh to Verelst, Feb. 20, 1737, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 89.

¹¹ Stephens' *Journal*, June 15, 1738. *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 156.

the Choctaws by intrigue of their own among the Creeks.¹² They were aided in this during the late seventeen thirties by the unruly conduct of the Carolina traders as a result of the Georgia Indian act controversy. There was much uneasiness and wavering among the Creeks for some time, due to the unsettled state of the English and the efforts of both the French and Spaniards to gain control.¹³ But French influence was of short duration, for in July 1739 Oglethorpe wrote to Newcastle that the French had attacked the Lower Creeks and the Indians were determined in return to make war on the French.¹⁴ Oglethorpe, little as he loved the French, was not anxious for this to happen, for war with Spain was about to break, and he had no desire to have the French also about his ears, besides which he needed Creek aid against St. Augustine. He accordingly undertook his 1739 trip to Coweta and succeeded among other things in reconciling the Creeks to the French.¹⁵ This was one occasion on which Oglethorpe acted in the interests of Bienville, for at that time the Frenchman was in the midst of his preparations for the second campaign against the Chickasaws, and would have found war with the Creeks exceedingly awkward. No war was therefore fought, but the threat of it was sufficient to interrupt French efforts to win over the Lower Creeks.

During most of this period the control of the Creeks was a matter of intrigue and counter intrigue between the French and the English with a number of isolated incidents standing out as typical examples of what was going on. During 1738 the English spread a rumor among the Alabamas somewhat similar to the stories they had circulated among the Choctaws, to the effect that Bienville had proposed to Lieutenant Governor Bull of South Carolina that the Chickasaws be left to French vengeance, after which the French and English could join forces and exterminate all the other Indian

¹² Thomas Causton to Trustees, Aug. 26, 1738, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 1, p. 230.

¹³ Oglethorpe to Trustees, July 4, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 2, pp. 166-167. Thomas Causton to Trustees, Feb. 14, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 68.

¹⁴ Oglethorpe to Newcastle, July 16, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXV, p. 216. Oglethorpe to Trustees, July 16, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 2, p. 179.

¹⁵ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXV, p. 218.

tribes and then divide their land between themselves.¹⁶ The high-minded English, so the rumor ran, had refused to be a party to such a plan, but the French still clung to it. The building of Fort Tombekbe was only a step toward carrying it out. This rumor, like all the others circulated by the white men at this time, was cleverly calculated to prey on the fears of the natives, and was based on an understanding of Indian nature. But this one was especially insidious because it touched the Creeks on the one spot where they were most vulnerable, their fear of a coalition among the English, French and Spanish which would crush the Creek confederacy like a walnut in a nut cracker.

In the same year the French retaliated and sent warnings to the English themselves that the Creeks and Choctaws were planning to cast off the English traders who lived among them. The English believed that this information was only sent to frighten the Georgia traders and keep them at Augusta but color was given the report by the unsettled state of the Choctaws and the momentary success the French seemed to be having with the Creeks.¹⁷ Lieutenant Willy, stationed at Okfuskee, a small fort in the Creek country, was asked to investigate, which he did. He was assured by the Dog King, a Creek chief friendly to the English, that there was no foundation for the rumor as far as the Creeks were concerned. It was true of the Choctaws, but the Choctaw attack only turned the Creeks still further toward the English.¹⁸ A Creek-Choctaw war threatened for a time, a war which the English traders would have welcomed as it would have prevented the two nations from combining against the English, but the danger passed without any open hostilities.

About this time a soldier from Oglethorpe's regiment, a man named Shannon, was drummed out of the regiment for misconduct and made his way to the Creeks.¹⁹ He was later found trying to enlist their allegiance for the French. Similarly in September of 1739 word was brought back to Georgia that the French were

¹⁶ King's Paper, May 29, 1738, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 369.

¹⁷ Egmont's *Journal*, March 16, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 138.

¹⁸ Stephens' *Journal*, Dec. 6, 1738, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 241. Stephens' *Journal*, April 29, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 326.

¹⁹ Stephens' *Journal*, Aug. 11, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 387.

inciting the Creeks against the South Carolina traders, taking advantage of the still unsettled conditions due to the Indian Act, but they also met with little success.²⁰ Minor incidents are these, but typical of the sort of rumors continually occurring among the Indians through the interference of the whites.

Bienville's campaign of 1740 against the Chickasaws²¹ did not involve the Creeks, in spite of their attachment for this Indian nation and their friendship for the English. This was because the campaign coincided with Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine to which he had rallied all the Creek warriors obtainable, and they were therefore distracted from taking any part against the French. The French however were indirectly taking action against the Creeks, for during the War of Jenkins' Ear they gave all support possible to the Spaniards.

In the meantime they continued their intrigues within the Creek confederacy and for a time the loyalty of this people to the English was shaken. By the end of 1740 the English traders began to be skeptical about the amount of support that could safely be expected from the Creeks in time of trouble and their skepticism proved to be well founded.²² War parties, sent out by four Cherokee villages to aid the Chickasaws against the French,²³ were attacked from the rear by the Creeks. The old hatred between the two Indian nations flared up and resulted in the Creek-Cherokee war of 1741.²⁴ The Cherokees immediately appealed to the English for help, pointing out that their nation was a barrier to the French who would have easy access to Georgia and Carolina if they were wiped out.²⁵ But the Georgians were not much impressed by this argument. They were far too diplomatic to be led into openly supporting the Cherokees against the Creeks. In the first place they did not entirely trust the Cherokees' friendship and in the second they had no desire to break with the powerful Creek confederacy. Besides this they were not sorry to see the two nations at war. As William

²⁰ Benjamin Martyn to Newcastle, Dec. 5, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXX, pp. 178-179.

²¹ For a narrative of this campaign see *Archives Nationales, Marine*, B4, 45, pp. 361-405.

²² *Stephens' Journal*, Dec. 18, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 55.

²³ Louboey to Maurepas, Jan. 4, 1740, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 415.

²⁴ *Stephens' Journal*, Feb. 2, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, pp. 81-82.

²⁵ *Idem.*

Stephens said, "it is allowed to be a never-failing Maxim that the *Indians* falling out with one another, never forbodes any ill to us."²⁶ Instead Oglethorpe took steps to strengthen the waning loyalty of the Creeks. He sent Captain George Dunbar from Fred-erica to Savannah with orders to go up among the Creeks and talk with the head men to counteract the efforts of the French and Spanish, both of whom were particularly active at this time.²⁷ Dun-bar's mission proved so successful that by the end of 1741 Ogle-thorpe once more believed that the support of both the Creeks and Cherokees could be counted on in case of war with France.²⁸

Stephens' remark about the "never-failing Maxim" was a succinct statement of one of the important principles upon which the white men dealt with the Indians, that of setting one tribe or one nation against another.²⁹ This principle was equally well understood by Oglethorpe, Montiano and Bienville, and at times practiced by all three, though it would seem to have been less a part of Oglethorpe's diplomatic equipment than of the others. There were of course times when the application of this principle was not considered wise due to the exigencies of a particular situation or the possible danger of the two tribes concerned making peace and uniting against the whites.³⁰ Its validity however was not often questioned, a fact which makes all the more interesting any striking occasion upon which it was definitely challenged. Such an occasion arose in 1742 when Governor George Clarke of New York wrote to the governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia asking them to see that delegates were sent from all the southern tribes to a general peace conference at Albany.³¹ Two years before at a

²⁶ Stephens' *Journal*, Dec. 18, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 55.

²⁷ Stephens' *Journal*, April 20, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 128.

²⁸ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXV, p. 365.

²⁹ The Board of Trade, however, wrote Lt. Govr. William Gooch of Vir-ginia, Dec. 6, 1738, that all differences and wars between Indians friendly to the English should be avoided, and the Indians taught that all the English in America had a single prince. C. O. 5: 1366, pp. 293-296, L. C. Transcripts.

³⁰ When Lieut.-Governor James Wright of Georgia tried to set the Creeks against the Cherokees in 1760, during the English-Cherokee war, the two Indian nations came to an understanding against the whites. *The London Chronicle*, August 16-19, 1760.

³¹ For details of this plan, see Clarke to Georgia Trustees, May 19, 1742, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXIII, pp. 330-332. See also Clarke to Oglethorpe, Jan. 9, 1742, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXIII, pp. 226-228; *Journal Trustees*, July 26, 1742, in *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 402-403.

conference with the Six Nations at Albany Clarke had proposed that a peace be concluded among all the English Indians in North America.³² This seemed like a sound proposition and the Indians had assented, but the Iroquois had insisted that the southern Indians send deputies to the next conference to be held in May or June of 1742.³³ Though Clarke had refused to make this a condition of the peace he had realized that the presence of delegates from the southern nations would strengthen the action taken and had accordingly made his requests. The plan when Oglethorpe considered it seemed to him a good one. The advantages to the English of a general peace at that time were many. The attacks of the Iroquois on the Chickasaws, which the French had been encouraging for some time, would be stopped, and the Iroquois war parties which had been causing uneasiness as they traversed Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, on their way south to attack the Catawbias in North Carolina, would also cease.³⁴ Moreover if all the English Indians were at peace the efforts of the French to detach them from their allegiance would be in vain, and this, at a time when Oglethorpe was feeling hard pressed by the Spaniards, seemed to him the greatest boon of all.³⁵ He therefore drew on the Trustees for £100 to aid Clarke in his plan, and both he and Clarke wrote letters to the Trustees laying the plan before them.³⁶ Though the Trustees approved of the plan,³⁷ it was destined never to be realized, and the Iroquois continued to send their raiding parties south.³⁸

Meanwhile the French continued their intrigues among the Creeks,³⁹ and Oglethorpe, though too busy with the Spaniards to give the question his personal attention, dared not let the French

³² Wraxall, P., *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs*, p. 218.

³³ The southern Indians did not attend. *Ibid.*, p. 227. The Cherokees had promised to attend in 1740 but had not done so. C. O. 5: 1324, T. 61, p. 375, L. C. Transcripts.

³⁴ Benjamin Martyn to Andrew Stone, July 26, 1742, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXX, p. 455.

³⁵ Oglethorpe to Trustees, March 3, 1742, in Ga. C. R., XXIII, pp. 224-225.

³⁶ Egmont's *Journal*, July 26, 1742, in Ga. C. R., V, p. 653.

³⁷ Benjamin Martyn to Andrew Stone, July 26, 1742, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXX, p. 455.

³⁸ C. O. 5: 1327, W. 31, L. C. Transcripts. C. O. 5: 1327, W. 33, L. C. Transcripts. Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 205. Governor Clarke had warned the lieutenant-governor of South Carolina of an impending attack by French and Indians in 1742. Add. MSS. 32700, f. 42, L. C. Transcripts.

³⁹ *Journal Trustees*, March 25, 1742, in Ga. C. R., I, pp. 395-396.

agents work on unchecked. In 1742 he therefore sent up to Mount Venture to ask Mary Musgrove to use her influence against the French.⁴⁰ Mary was steadily increasing in power and importance at this time, and had tremendous influence with the Creek confederacy. Upon this occasion as on many others she complied with the request of her English friend, and the French were checkmated.

Again in the War of the Austrian Succession Mary Musgrove showed her strength. The Creeks in the early part of the war were faithful to the English, chiefly because at Frederica Captain Horton saw that they got plenty of the two things they liked best, plenty of presents, and a chance to fight.⁴¹ But when their enthusiasm began to wane, and continued French influence was starting to sway them in their loyalty, it was Mary Musgrove, more than any other one person, who held them faithful and foiled the French designs.⁴²

Another powerful factor in the English-French rivalry for the support of the Indians, and notably for the support of the Creeks, was the body of Georgia traders. Time and again they pitted their influence against that of the French, in the Indian villages, and though sometimes they failed, more often they did not. A typical example is that of John Spencer, a Georgia trader to the Upper Creeks at the town of Muklasa, eight miles from Fort Toulouse.⁴³ Situated as they were near the important sphere of French influence, it was not surprising that a party of Upper Creeks had deserted to the French in 1740. Spencer, however, worked and reasoned and promised and at last won them back to English allegiance, persuading them to settle near Muklasa where he at his trading post could keep a careful watch on them. Spencer of course was only one of many, and this but one of many incidents in which the Georgia traders showed their value and loyalty.

Up to 1746 the English managed to retain control over at least a majority of the Creeks, but the beginning of that year marked the beginning of strained relations. Reports began to come in to Savannah from the Creek towns that not only the Creeks, but also

⁴⁰ Oglethorpe to Mrs. Matthews, March 22, 1742, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXVII, p. 247.

⁴¹ *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXVI, p. 207.

⁴² Alexander Heron to Mrs. Bosomworth, July 20, 1747, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXVII, pp. 262-263.

⁴³ *Ga. C. R.*, XXIV, p. 433.

the Cherokees and Chickasaws, the friendly old Chickasaws, were all planning to declare war on the English in March.⁴⁴ Moreover the English felt that there was some weight behind these rumors. Major Horton, commandant of the English forces at Frederica, wrote that though he did not think the entire membership of all the Creek tribes had deserted to the French, there seemed no doubt that large parties had done so. There were also reports that the Senecas and other northern tribes had been won over to the French. The English were sorely troubled, but though a few raids were made against them the threatened general war was postponed.

In the fall of the same year the French held a big Indian conference at Fort Toulouse which a great many Creek chiefs attended.⁴⁵ The purpose was to persuade the Creeks to join the French against the English and, amusingly enough, the main argument presented was the old one, already used so often by both sides. The English, declared the French, were planning to kill the French and then exterminate the Creeks. Since this struck, as before, at the Creek policy of maintaining a balance of power it was completely effective. The Creeks were so disturbed that they plotted to kill all Englishmen who were among them, and war between the English and Creeks would almost certainly have taken place then had not the Cherokees happily chosen this moment to fall upon their red neighbors. The Creek-Cherokee war of 1747 resulted and the Creeks were for a time too occupied to take action against the English.

Another equally important factor in the prevention of warfare at this time was the ubiquitous Mary Musgrove. Major William Horton hearing the trouble that the French were causing among the Creeks had wanted to have all Frenchmen arrested who came to Creek villages, whether interpreters, traders or others, and had as usual turned to Mary to have this accomplished, writing to ask her to use her influence with the Creeks to this end, and to have the Frenchmen, when arrested, sent down to him at Frederica.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Major William Horton to Thomas Bosomworth, March 30, 1746, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 255-256.

⁴⁵ Deposition of William Gray, July 1, 1747, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 261-262.

⁴⁶ William Horton to Thomas Bosomworth, May 19, 1747, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 257.

At the time of Horton's writing Mary was at her trading house at the Forks of the Altamaha, and Horton had therefore requested her husband Thomas Bosomworth to carry the message to her in person, promising him an escort of two rangers for the journey. This mission Bosomworth accomplished and Mary accordingly sent a messenger to the Creeks and succeeded in bringing most of them back in line for the English though as we shall see a considerable part of the Indians remained hostile and later sought Spanish alliance. As for Horton's commands about the Frenchmen, there is nothing on record to show that these were carried out.

The influences at work against English-Creek alliance were mainly two: the French and the Choctaws. The French had been working subtly and under cover for many years as we know, but in 1746 they grew bold enough to send guns and ammunition to every Creek town.⁴⁷ Malatchi, the head of the Lower Creeks, had been given a French gun of which he was very proud and the French had also promised to send a linguist up to aid him at Coweta. They had moreover sent two eighteen pound guns with an officer and a detachment of soldiers up to Coweta, and issued commissions to several Indians in each Creek village hoping these special representatives would work to bring the Creeks in line for the French as indeed they did. The Squirrel King, a Creek chief, was one of the most active in the French cause and he gained many converts through his personal influence.

But another and perhaps even more important influence was one that the English were building up against themselves in their dealings with the Choctaws. The ambition of the Creeks as we know was to remain the key nation of the southeast, and they realized that if the English won over the Choctaws they would have little need of Creek support, for the Choctaws would then be a barrier against Louisiana for Georgia and the Carolinas.⁴⁸ They were therefore very unwilling to have the English make peace with the Choctaws and as the English seemed more and more successful with these southern Indians, in exact proportion did the Creek friendship for them grow less and less. It was in fact in the very

⁴⁷ Extract of a journal from a person lately come from the Creek nation, April 11, 1747, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXVII, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁸ *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXVII, pp. 257-258; *C. O. 5*: 1344, *L. C. Transcripts*.

years that the English felt most certain of the Choctaws that the danger of war with the Creeks was most imminent. When the Choctaw Revolt against the French broke out in 1746, aided by the English, the Creeks plotted to turn against their old allies. They were only deterred by the intervention of Mary Musgrove and trouble with the Cherokees.

When the Cherokee war began to die out the French renewed their efforts at control. They promised the Creeks that they would provide them with all the goods they wanted if they would break up the English trade with the Choctaws.⁴⁹ This of course was exactly what the Creeks wanted most to do. They readily agreed and would no doubt have succeeded had not friendly Creeks warned the English of the danger. Mirgosbi and the Squirrel King, two Creek chiefs, told William Gray, an Augusta planter, that if the Carolina pack-train left as usual for the Choctaws it would be plundered by the Creeks, and war would result. Moreover, Coat, a head man of the Chickasaws and a friend of Gray's, advised him to take refuge in the town of Augusta because Coat believed a war between the Creeks and the English was about to take place.

Mary Musgrove learning of these facts advised Alexander Heron, who had replaced Horton as commander at Frederica, to send an agent to parley with the Creeks.⁵⁰ She suggested her brother-in-law, Abraham Bosomworth, as a suitable person to carry out this mission and Heron accordingly sent him to Coweta to talk things over with the Creek chiefs. Again Mary Musgrove was in the position of saving the English, for Bosomworth's negotiations were successful and again war between the Creeks and English was averted.⁵¹

Strengthened by their friendship with Mary Musgrove and their loss of influence with the Choctaws, the English regained some of their lost ground with the Creeks. By the end of the war of the Austrian Succession, the Georgians began to feel once more that

⁴⁹ Deposition of William Gray, July 1, 1747, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 261-262.

⁵⁰ Alexander Heron to Mrs. Bosomworth, July 20, 1747, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 262-263.

⁵¹ Alexander Heron to Mary Bosomworth, Aug. 31, 1747, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 264.

they could depend on the Creeks in time of need.⁵² And more than ever did they feel the need of Creek allegiance for in 1749 the regiment was withdrawn from Frederica. This, together with the return of the Choctaws to the French left the Creeks once more in complete command of the situation as the key nation, fending off both the French and Spanish from the English and acting as a sliding balance among the three nations.⁵³ But though there was tentative peace between the English and Creeks when the war ended in 1748, this peace was known by all to be merely tentative.

The French continued their intrigues in the Creek villages more actively than ever and when Mary Musgrove in 1749 turned against the Georgians the French were more than ready to profit by it. Malatchi returning from his unfortunate visit to Savannah went entirely over to French interests, paid visits to Mobile, accepted French presents and worked thereafter to promote the cause of the French among his own people.⁵⁴ In February of 1752 several French officers visited Creek towns and played on the dissatisfaction of the Indians at the treatment accorded them three years before at Savannah.⁵⁵ They insinuated that the English were deliberately trying to start a war against the Creeks, and were so successful in their efforts that the French flag was raised in several Creek towns and there was again danger of the Creeks entirely deserting the English.

So the contest for the Creeks went on, intensified as the outbreak of the French and Indian War approached.⁵⁶ The conduct of the Indians in that gigantic conflict, and the final triumph of the English lies beyond our period, however, and we must leave the European rivals locked in bitter strife for the favor of the Creeks, the key nation of the southeast.

Among the Cherokees Anglo-French rivalry was less marked than among the Creeks and the Choctaws. This was in a large part

⁵² Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 387.

⁵³ Memorial to the Trustees from the Inhabitants of southern Georgia, April 15, 1752, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 269-270.

⁵⁴ Ga. C. R., XXVI, p. 194.

⁵⁵ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 269-270.

⁵⁶ Ga. C. R., XXVI, pp. 351, 377, 399, 417. See also Margry, P., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, VI, pp. 661-663, 665.

due to the Cherokees' position which was further to the north than any of the other Indian nations with which we have been concerned. Their position affected them in two ways: they were near enough to the English in Carolina and Georgia to become natural allies of these people; they were far enough from the French not to seem vitally important to Louisiana and to make whatever efforts were spent toward French control less effective. Moreover they were hereditary friends of the Chickasaws, a friendship which helped to strengthen the bond with the English and to increase their enmity toward the French. A definite English-Cherokee alliance dated from the year 1730 when seven Cherokee chiefs visited London and signed a treaty of alliance. It remained unbroken until 1757.

Though the Cherokees occasioned the French little concern as allies of the British, they were a definite menace as allies of the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws considered the Cherokees the only steadfast friends upon whom they could call for help, and this feeling was well founded.⁵⁷ In 1736, after Bienville's first expedition against the Chickasaws, a party of four hundred Cherokees and Chickasaws banded together and went to the Ohio to find a peaceful settlement.⁵⁸ They were led by Englishmen with a view to interrupting French communications between Canada and Louisiana, and Bienville must have realized this, for upon hearing of it he immediately stirred up the French Indians of the Ohio against these new settlers and the Chickasaws and Cherokees were forced to withdraw. In the Chickasaws' long struggle with the French they were continually aided by raiding parties from the Cherokees. The two Cherokee villages Tennessee and Great Tellico were known to be the most sympathetic, but there were a number of others. Especially during Bienville's two expeditions of 1736 and 1740 were the Cherokees helpful. Four of their villages joined the Chickasaws outright and a number of others were in great sympathy with them.⁵⁹ This aid to his enemies, the Chickasaws, naturally aroused Bienville's resentment, and when this aid began to be a definite handicap to the French he stirred up his Indian allies against the

⁵⁷ Second audience of Oglethorpe with Chickasaws, July 13, 1736, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXV, pp. 77-79.

⁵⁸ Bienville to Maurepas, Sept. 5, 1736, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 327.

⁵⁹ Louboey to Maurepas. Jan. 4, 1740, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 415.

Cherokees and encouraged these allies to send raiding parties over to attack the Cherokee towns.⁶⁰ The Creeks were among these allies. In 1740 while the Cherokees were carrying on war with the French they were attacked from the rear by a party of Creeks who had been won over to the French.⁶¹ From this episode dated the Creek-Cherokee war of 1740-41, in which the Creeks were supplied with arms and ammunition by the French. The Cherokees appealed to the English for help, which was not in this case forthcoming.⁶²

Perhaps the most interesting and enigmatic figure in the history of Anglo-French Cherokee relations was Christian Gottlieb Priber, a man who was oddly enough neither Frenchman nor Englishman, but a German Jesuit.⁶³ He had left his native state of Saxony and had migrated to England.⁶⁴ In 1735 he asked the Trustees to send him to Georgia by the next ship.⁶⁵ This they did, but on his arrival in America he settled in Carolina and was naturalized there,⁶⁶ and the next year went to live in the Cherokee village of Great Tellico.⁶⁷ Priber then learned the Cherokee language, adopted the Indian mode of dress and thenceforth followed Indian customs.⁶⁸ He was a well-educated man and soon came to wield a powerful influence over the natives, which influence he soon exerted almost entirely for the French.⁶⁹ Priber's argument was one with which we are familiar, the argument so frequently put forth by the weaker side. Why not, said Priber, trade with both nations and thus get twice as many presents? Priber's main interest however was the establishment of a communistic state under the protection of the Indians. He had worked out the plans for such a state in great detail, and hoped to make a settlement within the Cherokee section

⁶⁰ Hamer, P. M., "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Cherokee Country 1754-1757," in *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, II (1925), pp. 303-322.

⁶¹ Stephens' *Journal*, Feb. 2, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, pp. 81-82.

⁶² Egmont's *Diary*, III, p. 221.

⁶³ For an excellent article on Priber, see Crane, V. W., "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," in *Sewanee Review*, XXVII (1919), pp. 48-61.

⁶⁴ Mereness, N. D., *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 239.

⁶⁵ *Journal Trustees*, June 18, 1735, in *Ga. C. R.*, I, p. 218.

⁶⁶ "Account of Christian Pryber's Proceedings," in *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXVI, pp. 129-131.

⁶⁷ Mereness, N. D., *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 239.

⁶⁸ *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXVI, pp. 129-131.

⁶⁹ "Account of Christian Pryber's Proceedings," in *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXVI, pp. 129-131; Adair, James, *History of the American Indians*, p. 240.

of Georgia, which would be a refuge for fugitive French, English, Germans and negroes, and particularly for runaway slaves from Carolina.⁷⁰ The settlers were to raise their own corn and have their own herds of cattle and buy whatever else they needed from the Indians. Priber expected French aid in carrying out his plans, an expectation which was doubtless well grounded. In 1742 he met Antoine Bonnefoy, while the latter was captive among the Cherokees, and explained to him his plans, as Bonnefoy's journal relates.⁷¹ In 1743 Priber was on his way to Mobile to secure French aid when he was taken prisoner by English Indians and sent to Oglethorpe at Frederica.⁷² There he was put in jail and there, still a prisoner, he died a few years later.

There is no doubt of Priber's sincerity about the establishment of a communistic state, but there is also no doubt that Priber in his life among the Indians intrigued almost entirely for French interests. In 1742 he and Bonnefoy worked among the Cherokees for peace at the same time that the English were trying to incite them to war. At other times he tried to incite the Cherokees to kill all the English traders in their midst, and Oglethorpe was convinced that Priber was working under French protection. However, strong character as Priber was, and great as was his influence with the Cherokees, it was never strong enough to sway the Cherokees from their allegiance to the English.

A striking example of English influence among the Cherokees occurred as a result of an Iroquois raiding party in 1741. In this raid the old Cherokee emperor Moy Toy was killed, and it was on the advice of the English traders that his successor, Skia Gunsta of Keowee, was chosen king in his place.⁷³ French traders, too, were active among the Cherokees. An outstanding example was the Chevalier de Lantagnac who when a boy of thirteen visited Great Tellico as a French trader.⁷⁴ While there he mastered the

⁷⁰ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, pp. 129-131.

⁷¹ "Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy (1741-1742)," in Williams, S. C. (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, pp. 147-162.

⁷² Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, pp. 129-131.

⁷³ Ga. C. R., XXIII, p. 196.

⁷⁴ "Account of the Chevalier de Lantagnac (1746-1755)," in Williams, S. C. (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, pp. 177-179.

Indian language, studied the customs of the natives, and made a particular point of learning the English methods of dealing with the Cherokees. His information was to stand him in good stead for after returning to Louisiana in 1755 he was sent to Fort Toulouse as liaison officer and at this strategic post had good use for all he had learned among the Cherokees.

With the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession in 1744, of which the French and English settlers immediately waged a local miniature, the support of all the Indian tribes assumed a greater importance.⁷⁵ The French therefore redoubled their efforts to win over the Cherokees, and had temporary success for a party of these Indians was persuaded to go down among the Creeks and turn them against the English.⁷⁶ But it is an interesting example of the uncertainty of Indian friendship that when the Creeks refused to be swayed the Cherokees immediately turned about and joined them. Returning home they put one Frenchman to death and sent the rest packing back to Louisiana to tell their friends there how they were treated.

In 1746 the same unsettled spirit showed itself among the Cherokees as among the Creeks and Choctaws. French intrigue had finally brought about a change of attitude and reports were circulating among the Creeks and around South Carolina in March that the Cherokees were on the verge of declaring war on the English.⁷⁷ Governor James Glen had planned to visit the chief Cherokee towns at this time, but was dissuaded by his friends who believed the journey would be dangerous. Naturally it was only a part of the Cherokee nation which had gone over to the French, but this part was enough to cause a great deal of disturbance. Thus for a time there was both a French and an English faction among the Cherokees just as there had been among the Creeks. Even at this time, however, most of the Cherokees were in favor of the English. Later in the same year they asked the English to build a fort in their country to protect the Overhill Towns from the raids of the Choctaws and Iroquois. Governor Glen of South Carolina

⁷⁵ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXV, p. 365.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 207.

⁷⁷ William Horton to Thomas Bosomworth, March 30, 1746, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 255-256.

supported this action as a sound diplomatic move, but the actual construction was delayed until later.

By 1747 the Cherokees were again loyal to the English and were fighting against the French, for the Creek-Cherokee war of 1747 had broken out ⁷⁸ and the French were supplying the Creeks with powder, balls and muskets. Moreover the French-supporters among the Choctaws found time, in the midst of their internecine struggle with the English-supporting Choctaws, to send a number of war parties of considerable strength against the Cherokees. The object of the French in supporting both the Creeks and Choctaws against the Cherokees was two-fold: to prevent the Cherokees from being free to aid the English, and to take the fur trade away from their rivals. The Cherokees, however, were neither beaten nor subdued by either of these opponents and the war of the Austrian Succession found them still loyal to the English, in which loyalty they continued to the end of our period.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The Creeks and Cherokees were still at war with each other in 1753, C. O. 5: 1327, W. 114, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷⁹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 387; S. C. Indian Book, 1753-1754, IV, 37.

CHAPTER VII

ANGLO-SPANISH RIVALRY

Although England's most formidable rival in America was undoubtedly France, whose influence with the Indians, as well as her possible encroachment on the English colonies through a joining of the frontiers of Canada and Louisiana, was greatly to be feared, Spain was a much more tangible threat to the English colonies in the southeast and particularly to Georgia. For while the conflict between Georgia and Louisiana was merely a meeting of two rival trading frontiers, between Georgia and Florida it was, a great deal of the time, a meeting of troops and fighting ships. Moreover, though Spain and France were enemies at the time of the founding of Louisiana, each opposing the other's efforts at trade and colonization, by the time of the Trustees in Georgia they had become friends, banding together for the common purpose of opposing the English. Georgia, therefore, had not only the proximity of a hostile Spanish colony to combat but a hostile Spanish colony backed up by French resources.

The Anglo-Spanish contest for Georgia before the coming of Oglethorpe has already been traced in Chapter I and the fact noted that both Georgia and Florida stood as buffer colonies, protecting the more valuable settlements behind them. The early contest for the favor of the Indians has also been traced, and the Yamassees withdrawal to the vicinity of St. Augustine and alliance with Spanish interests already noted. This alliance was one of the few permanent ones between the white and the red men, and continued throughout the whole of our period. But the Spaniards, like the French and the English, considered the Creeks the most important Indian nation in that region, and, like the other two, continually courted the favor of these Indians. Tradition was behind them, for the Creeks had originally been loyal to the Spanish, then had gone over to English interests, and then again after the South Carolina-

Yamasse war was over had returned once more to a position more favorable to the Spaniards. Vacillation on the part of the Creeks continued, with their favor sought by both sides, and in 1726 conditions seemed so critical that the Spaniards sent a delegation to treat with these Indians at the same time that President Middleton of South Carolina sent Tobias Fitch on a similar mission of friendship. For a while the Spaniards seemed to have control, for the Great Chief of the Creeks and most of the Indians at Coweta were won over to them, but Tobias Fitch by great skill and the liberal use of presents, swung the balance, and the Creeks became English allies, so to remain for many years to come.¹

Undoubtedly the friendship of the Creeks was assuming a very large importance in this year, 1726, for it was also at that time that Governor Benavides at St. Augustine recommended the sending out of a Spanish colony to Apalache to act as a barrier against the Carolinians.² This province was valuable as a means of keeping the friendship of the Creeks, and Benavides feared apparently that if it were not used for that purpose by the Spaniards it might soon be so used by the Carolinians. He therefore proposed that fifty Spanish families be brought over from the Canary Islands to settle there each year until a total of five hundred families was reached, a number which he felt would be sufficient to establish a formidable barrier. The plan was not carried out, but so important was the idea behind it that we find the plan brought up again and again under both Governor Sanchez and Governor Montiano.

Just as Bienville had regarded the settlement of Georgia and Purrysburg³ as a menace to Louisiana, so the Spaniards regarded them as an English encroachment on Spanish territory. The history of Spain's title to Georgia and the conflict connected with it has been admirably told,⁴ and we need only note here that the establishment

¹ A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-31, p. 102, L. C. Transcripts.

² A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-31, pp. 92-93, L. C. Transcripts.

³ Smith, Henry, "Purrysburgh," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, X, (1909), pp. 187-219. Purrysburg was the little Swiss settlement planted in 1730 by Jean Pierre Purry on the Carolina side of the Savannah river.

⁴ *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, edited by Bolton, H. E. See also C. O. 5: 283 L. C. Transcripts.

of Oglethorpe's colony intensified that conflict and brought the contestants just so much closer to each other.

The establishment of Georgia was also the crystallizing factor in the alliance of Florida and Louisiana, and elicited proposals for a combined attack on the new little colony. In 1734 a Spanish missionary who had lived some time among the Georgia Indians wrote at length explaining that the strength of the English lay with the Indians and proposing that the French send five hundred or a thousand Indians from Canada to join the Spaniards in stamping out Oglethorpe's colony.⁵ It is clear that Oglethorpe's philanthropic and Utopian little settlement was a cause of grave concern among the Spaniards though it must not be forgotten that their concern was not primarily for St. Augustine and Apalache but for Mexico and the rest of Spanish America that lay behind these buffers.⁶

The governor of Florida at the time Georgia was settled by the English was Don Francisco del Moral Sanchez, a weak man who was at the same time harsh and unscrupulous, and not at all to be compared with his predecessor Benavides or his successor Montiano.⁷ He not only took no measures against Georgia, but calmly permitted the English to carry on trade with St. Augustine and even allowed English store keepers to do business within the walls of the city, a procedure which is understandable only on the grounds that it was a source of private profit to him.⁸ His handling of Indian affairs was equally corrupt and objectionable, and his tactlessness and harshness in dealing with the red men alienated them. Moreover he did little to control unfavorable conditions then existing among the Spanish missionaries. That these fathers did a great deal for the Spanish cause among the Indians is unquestionable, but their faults were also large. At one time Sanchez wrote back to the king that some missionaries who had been living among the Indians for fourteen years had not yet learned to

⁵ Fray Joseph Ramos Escudero to . . . , in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

⁶ A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-31, p. 111, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷ Don Francisco Menendez to . . . , Oct. 14, 1735, in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

⁸ Antonio Diaz Mexia to the king, Oct. 15, 1735, in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

ask for water, and that nearly all of them led scandalous and lazy lives,⁹ but he did nothing constructive to mend these ways. The Indians were greatly influenced by the Spaniards, as by the other white nations, through the bestowal of presents. Six thousand dollars was appropriated annually for this purpose and the spending of it was exclusively in the hands of Don Domingo Rodriguez.¹⁰ During Sanchez' administration the majority of these presents consisted of English goods which had been brought in illegally and from which a large share went into Sanchez' own pocket.

An open break between the Spaniards and the Creeks was brought about in 1735 by an incident which a more tactful man could have settled quietly.¹¹ A Spaniard was murdered by some Creeks at Fort Pupo, whereupon Sanchez immediately ordered a sortie to be made by Spanish troops into the country of the Creeks to avenge this murder. The Creeks resented this, and their resentment was fostered and fanned by the Georgian traders. They made their usual visit to St. Augustine to receive their annual presents but in an ugly mood, and when Sanchez harshly reprimanded them they took up the tomahawk. Encouraged by Captain Patrick Mackay, the Georgia agent for Indian affairs among the Creeks, they began open war against the Spaniards and dispatched an expedition of over three hundred braves to attack St. Augustine.¹²

This uprising was so serious that Sanchez was led to appeal to Bienville for help.¹³ In February 1736 he wrote that the Lower Creeks were making raids up to the very gates of St. Augustine itself and that the Spaniards would not be strong enough to check them. He did not expect French troops to come to his aid, knowing the distance from Mobile or New Orleans was too great, but he urged Bienville to stir up one of his tribes of French Indians against the Lower Creeks and thus divert them. Bienville replied to this

⁹ Sanchez to the king, Oct. 8, 1735, in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

¹⁰ Francisco Menendez to . . . , Oct. 12, 1735, in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

¹¹ Don Francisco Menendez to . . . , Oct. 12, 1735, in Brooks Transcripts, 1690 to 1740.

¹² Bienville to Maurepas, Feb. 10, 1736, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 292.

Thomas Broughton to Trustees, October 1735, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, pp. 3-7.

¹³ Bienville to Maurepas, Feb. 10, 1736, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 292.

that inasmuch as the French were at peace with the Lower Creeks he could not declare war on them, but that he would use his influence to stop the raids. He then ordered the Chevalier d'Erneville, commandant at Fort Toulouse, to call the chiefs into conference at the fort and persuade them to cease their attacks on St. Augustine. He fully expected that this would restore peace, particularly as he felt that the Creeks had been persuaded by Mackay against their wills to engage in the present war. He was too optimistic, however, for the Creek raids went on, and even though later in the year Sanchez borrowed two hundred guns, three hundred pounds of powder and a quantity of foodstuffs from the French to help him stave off the invaders,¹⁴ the Spanish troops had to be called out against the Indians three times in the space of nine months.

Relief came for the Spaniards however from an unexpected source. Oglethorpe was unwilling to go to war with Florida in 1736 and fearing this might be the outcome of continued raids he stepped in to check them. He ordered the Creeks to desist and most of them complied, but when he discovered that some of the wild Indians still continued to harass the Spaniards he ordered an armed boat to guard the St. John's river and prevent any Indians from crossing. This was effective, and St. Augustine was able to breathe easily once more. In view of the treaty which was signed between Oglethorpe and Sanchez in October of that year, it was very good policy on the Englishman's part to keep on friendly terms with the Spaniard. Moreover Thomas Broughton of South Carolina was at the same time bringing pressure to bear on the Trustees to keep the peace with Spain.¹⁵

The treaty above mentioned was the result of a diplomatic controversy which had been going on in Europe as well as in America, involving correspondence in Europe between such important figures as the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern department, and Don Tomás Geraldino, Spanish Minister to London, and negotiations between Oglethorpe and Sanchez in America. Oglethorpe had employed as his agent to the Spaniards a clever

¹⁴ Montiano *et al.* to the king, Sept. 25, 1740, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 49-50, L. C. Transcripts.

¹⁵ Thomas Broughton to Trustees, October 1735, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXI, pp. 3-5.

man named Charles Dempsey. Two treaties had been signed in 1736, one between Dempsey and the Council of War at St. Augustine, the other between Dempsey and Sanchez.¹⁶ The treaties had provided that the governor of St. Augustine was to restrain the Spaniards and the Spanish Indians from attacking the Georgians, while the governor of Georgia was to restrain the Georgians and the Georgia Indians from attacking the Spaniards.¹⁷ The matter of a barrier was brought up in a provision that St. George's island was to be occupied by neither the English nor the Spaniards, but the question of a Georgia-Florida boundary was left to the British and Spanish courts for decision. These treaties were so clearly favorable to England that for signing them Sanchez was removed from office, sent back to Spain,¹⁸ and later hanged.¹⁹ Philip V repudiated the treaties as having been made without authority and Montiano was sent over to Florida to replace Sanchez.

By 1737 the conflict between the English and Spaniards was beginning to result in definite bad feeling. Rumors were current among the English that Governor Horcasitas of Havana was preparing for an attack on Georgia and Carolina. Savannah was in such a state of panic that the people were clamoring for forts to protect them. Lieutenant Governor Bull of South Carolina sent an express to Governor Gooch of Virginia to warn him of the impending danger,²⁰ and Captain Compton of the *Sea Horse*, a warship stationed off the Virginia coast was dispatched to the south early in April. The Spanish threat however failed to materialize, Savannah gradually lost its air of anxiety, the people went back to their normal routine, and Compton wrote Gooch from Charleston that if the Spaniards had ever had a plan for attacking Georgia they must have given it up.²¹ But both Oglethorpe and Montiano

¹⁶ *Journal Trustees*, Jan. 12, 1737, in *Ga. C. R.*, I, p. 266.

¹⁷ For the treaty between Dempsey and the Council of War of St. Augustine, see *Ga. C. R.* (MS), XXXV, pp. 57-61; for the treaty between Dempsey and Sanchez, see Harris, John, *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, II, pp. 331-332. See also Add. MSS. 32794, pp. 255-260.

¹⁸ Diron d'Artaguetto to Maurepas, May 8, 1737, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 345.

¹⁹ Egmont's *Journal*, May 15, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 351.

²⁰ C. O. 5: 1337, no. 104, L. C. Transcripts.

²¹ Gooch to Board of Trade, May 16, 1737, in C. O. 5: 1324 T. 21, p. 115, L. C. Transcripts.

realized that war must soon break and redoubled their efforts to prepare for it.

In the same year the Spaniards managed to heal their break with the Creeks and became once more allied with the Tallapoosa Indians and the Lower Creeks of Coweta.²² This was largely through the intervention of the French. The English had been pushing a plan for fortifying the upper reaches of all rivers that flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and when the red men had asked the advice of Diron d'Artaguette at Mobile on the matter he had persuaded them that the proposed English forts would be a menace to their safety. They had accordingly resisted the advances of the English and turned back to their old friends the Spaniards at St. Augustine. In the meantime preparation for war went forward on both sides, with Oglethorpe and Montiano each struggling for the support of as many Indian tribes as possible. This continued through 1738 and the Indians, sensing war in the air, began committing outrages. The English Indians murdered a Spanish chief, Pujoy, and his followers.²³ Montiano complained to Oglethorpe pointing out that it was a violation of the Oglethorpe-Sanchez treaty. Oglethorpe's reply from Frederica expressed polite regret and promised that the aggressor should be punished.²⁴ Other outrages followed on both sides, however, and a series of protests, apologies, counter protests and counter apologies went travelling back and forth. Feeling between the two colonies was becoming less friendly.

One of the favorite Spanish methods of harassing the English had long been to encourage the Carolina slaves to run away to St. Augustine.²⁵ This was supported by a royal decree of October 10, 1699, in which protection had been promised to all negro deserters from the English who fled to St. Augustine and became Catholics.²⁶ The decree had been repeated from time to time, notably in 1736

²² Diron d'Artaguette to Maurepas, May 8, 1737, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 346.

²³ *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 11.

²⁴ Montiano to Horcasitas, Feb. 16, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 15.

²⁵ Montiano to Horcasitas, April 2, 1739, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 30.

²⁶ Montiano to the king, May 31, 1738, A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-31, p. 116, L. C. Transcripts.

by Philip V, and as war seemed imminent the Spaniards grew unusually active in enticing slaves to their capitol, planning, as the French had long been accustomed to do, to use them as soldiers.²⁷ Georgia was not affected by this, since slavery had been prohibited by the Trustees, but Carolina protested bitterly, though as we have seen the English later adopted much the same practice when they encouraged the Indians to bring them slaves from French plantations.

The most important thing on both sides, however, continued to be the winning of Indian support. Should war break, the English were sure of the Cherokees, the Chickasaws and the Uchi Indians, but the Creeks were more important than any of these, and also more difficult, many of them being at the time in favor of Spain. In July, 1738, Montiano wrote to Horcasitas that the Indians of Apalache, i.e. the Lower Creeks, were loyal to the Spaniards but the English were intriguing with them and seemed to have a prospect of success.²⁸ The next month he again wrote to Horcasitas that the Georgians were making a great effort to assemble the Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees and Catawbais in a general conference, but that he had directed two chiefs faithful to the Spaniards to attend and report to him what went on.²⁹ The conference as planned was never held, but Oglethorpe's journey to Coweta the next year, of which we have already frequently heard, took its place.

As preparations went on, and the Indians saw war increasingly more imminent they committed more and more acts of violence. The Uchis killed some Spanish soldiers on the march and a body of them attacked Fort Pupo. They were restrained not at all by the English who considered the technique of their Indian allies peculiarly well adapted to the geographical situation of the Spaniards.³⁰ Indian raiding parties were sent out to scour the country and kill all Spaniards possible, and in particular to interrupt all

²⁷ Egmont's *Journal*, May 2, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 164.

²⁸ Montiano to Horcasitas, July 22, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 22.

²⁹ Montiano to Horcasitas, Aug. 8, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 24.

³⁰ Montiano to Horcasitas, Aug. 8, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 23.

communication between Apalache and St. Augustine.³¹ If this were accomplished, and the two parts of Florida cut off from each other, the English realized, it would be impossible for one to aid the other. Also Apalache would be exposed to Indian attack at a time when St. Augustine was too busy to help it.

Another practice which was common in the wars of the south-east, and which reached a fine height of organization was that of scalp buying.³² In 1738 the English were offering their Indians fifty dollars for the scalp of every Spaniard brought in, which incentive naturally increased the Indians' zeal.³³ The Spaniards also offered their Indians rewards for English scalps, and by 1742 when the war had been going on for some time they were offering the Creeks one hundred pieces of eight for every English prisoner, and fifty pieces of eight for an Englishman's scalp, the same prices, these, that they had been accustomed to paying the Yamassee.³⁴ We might note here that the Spaniards and English were not the only exponents of this delightful practice. The French throughout the Chickasaw war had been paying the Choctaws for Chickasaws' scalps and an interesting commerce had consequently grown up among the Choctaws. Since it was only necessary to produce a portion of the scalp the Choctaws had ingeniously formed the habit of cutting up one scalp into as many as ten pieces and collecting their bounty on each.³⁵ Bienville of course eventually discovered this and thenceforth insisted that the whole scalp be shown before any reward was paid.

During 1739 the Spaniards and French continued to work together to separate the Creeks from the English and made considerable progress. The Cherokees even were influenced reflexively and reports from their country indicated a growing uneasiness and

³¹ Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de La Florida y La Luisiana*, pp. 260-264, contains "Relacion del Yndio Juan Ignacio de los Reyes, vecino del Pueblo de Pocotalaca," Aug. 30, 1738. This is the report of an Indian spy sent out by Montiano. Montiano to Horcasitas, Aug. 31, 1738, in Ga. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 25.

³² For an example of Indian cannibalism, see C. O. 5: 1327, W. 95, L. C. Transcripts. For an example of the use of poisoned arrows, see C. O. 5: 1325, V. 25, L. C. Transcripts.

³³ Montiano to Horcasitas, Aug. 31, 1738, in Ga. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 26.

³⁴ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 121.

³⁵ Bienville to Maurepas, Aug. 26, 1734, in *Miss. Prov. Arch. F. D.*, p. 236.

tendency to fall out with the English at a moments' notice. Finally when the Chickasaws, the Creeks and the English party among the Choctaws urgently demanded a meeting with Oglethorpe at Coweta, he resolved to go there. News that England had declared war on Spain did not reach Savannah until September 8, but its approach had been so clearly heralded that Oglethorpe knew that war would soon begin and in July set out on his journey to Coweta to win the Indians to his support. It was a long and dangerous journey and this Oglethorpe well knew, but he felt that not to go might be more dangerous still. The Creeks were the key to control of the Indians in the southeast and he knew that if the intrigues of the French and Spaniards were allowed to go on unchecked the Creeks would be lost to the English and might even wage active war against Georgia itself. He accordingly set out on July 17 and in spite of outside intrigue was warmly welcomed by the Creeks with whom he negotiated his well known treaty which was the basis of the Trustees' era. As we know he thereby received the grant of lands most valuable to Georgia, but what was of more immediate importance he defeated the intrigues of the French and Spaniards, cemented Creek-English friendship and gained the support of these Indians in the War of Jenkins' Ear which followed. His Coweta conference was thus a signal triumph for him personally and for Georgia diplomatically. He returned home by way of Augusta which he reached early in September. He arrived at Savannah only to find that the war he had been long anticipating had been declared at last.³⁶

The English thus approached the war in an extremely favorable position as far as the Indians were concerned. The Chickasaws were their firm friends, and even found time in the midst of their troubles with the French to send a few warriors to Oglethorpe's aid.³⁷ The Choctaws concerned themselves but little with the war. The Cherokees were faithful supporters of Georgia once more and the Creeks had been saved in the nick of time. The Spaniards therefore had only the Yamassees for their allies, and these In-

³⁶ *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 208.

³⁷ Stephens' *Journal*, Nov. 20, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 456.

dians they had taken for granted. As to the actual number of Indians who came to Oglethorpe's aid in his campaign, it is impossible to give more than an approximate figure. In February 1738 Montiano had written Horcasitas that six thousand Cherokee warriors had been ordered to assemble in South Carolina to aid Oglethorpe against the Spaniards,³⁸ but in August he amended this, placing the total number of all Indian allies of the English at five or six thousand.³⁹ Both these figures were greatly exaggerated. Oglethorpe stated in a letter to Newcastle that he expected about one thousand Indians to aid him against the Spaniards,⁴⁰ while in a letter to the Trustees he placed the figure at twelve hundred, comprising two hundred Creeks under Tooanahowi, the nephew of old Tomochichi, four hundred other Creeks and six hundred Cherokees.⁴¹ Verelst estimated that the number of Indians raised in Georgia would not exceed one thousand and this figure is about right.⁴² The expense of all these Indian allies was considerable, since each warrior cost the British government £7 a year.

A glance at the map will make clear the main points in the defenses of Florida in 1740. Besides St. Augustine, guarded by its fortress, there was St. Marks on the Gulf of Mexico, a point of tremendous importance in connecting St. Augustine with Mexico and as a base for Spanish dealings with the Creeks. Between these two was Fort St. Francis de Pupo on the north side of the St. John's river, where was to be found the ferry over the St. John's river which afforded easy access to St. Marks, the Creeks and Carolina.⁴³ West of St. Marks lay Pensacola. Other forts were Fort Picolata, Fort Diego, Fort Rossa, Fort Chicketo, Fort Pinnion and the negro fort, Moosa.⁴⁴ Fort St. Francis and Fort Picolata had been

³⁸ Montiano to Horcasitas, Feb. 15, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 14.

³⁹ Montiano to Horcasitas, Aug. 31, 1738, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 26.

⁴⁰ Oglethorpe to Newcastle, Oct. 8, 1739, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXV, p. 218.

⁴¹ Egmont's *Journal*, Oct. 5, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 231.

⁴² *C. O. 5: 5*, pp. 235-242, *L. C. Transcripts*.

⁴³ Oglethorpe to Newcastle, Jan. 22, 1740, in *Ga. C. R. (MS)*, XXXV, p. 240.

⁴⁴ Oglethorpe to William Stephens, Feb. 1, 1739, in *Ga. C. R.*, XXII, pt. 2, pp. 312-313.

originally built to protect the mails between St. Augustine and St. Marks from Indian attack.⁴⁵ They were only small wooden forts but proved of value to the Spaniards.

The success of Oglethorpe in winning the support of the Creeks had a very discouraging effect on the Spaniards. Francisco de Castilla expressed Spanish sentiment in St. Augustine in 1740 when he wrote to the king that after all these years of effort the Spanish had nothing to show for their pains.⁴⁶ The only thing left to do seemed to be to destroy the Creeks entirely. But though the English had gained the upper hand it was somewhat more precarious than the Spanish realized. In March 1740 Lieutenant Kent, commander at Fort Augusta, wrote to William Stephens that he did not believe the Cherokees would send the several hundred warriors that Oglethorpe was expecting.⁴⁷ He was evidently too pessimistic, for the next month Thomas Eyre, Georgia Indian agent to the Cherokees, led a hundred of these warriors down to Savannah, with the news that several hundred more were to follow.⁴⁸ The Chickasaws sent seventy men, and the Upper and Lower Creeks at the same time had several hundred braves preparing to join Oglethorpe. Yet while all this was going on the English had to continue to combat French and Spanish intrigue in the Creek villages. Though the Spanish had given up hope of winning the Creeks to them they continued to play a defensive game, and tried in every way to persuade the Creeks to remain neutral.⁴⁹ Reaching the ear of old Chikillie, the chief mico, they played up the favorite Creek policy, pointing out that the Creeks were unwise to interfere in the war between the whites, but should instead let them fight it out, while the Creeks continued to hold the balance of power.⁵⁰ This attractive argument might have prevailed had not Lieutenant Willy and Thomas Wiggin, an Indian trader, worked faithfully to counteract it. A useful ally to them was

⁴⁵ Montiano to Horcasitas, Jan. 31, 1740, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Castilla to the king, Feb. 6, 1740, in *Brooks Transcripts*, 1740 to 1810.

⁴⁷ Stephens' *Journal*, March 31, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 545.

⁴⁸ Stephens' *Journal*, April 9, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 550.

⁴⁹ Montiano to Horcasitas, May 13, 1740, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Stephens' *Journal*, May 2, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.*, IV, p. 565.

Malatchi, the son of Old Brims, who was later to be such a trouble maker. Malatchi held a conference with Oglethorpe at Frederica and fired with enthusiasm for the English went back to spread the good word among the Creeks.

Oglethorpe, as we know, had been making steady preparations to attack St. Augustine ever since news reached him of the declaration of war. He made Frederica his base and concentrated his forces there, and in the latter part of May 1740, he advanced against the Spanish capital and laid siege to it. Details of the siege have so often been recounted that they need not detain us here. The inability of the British ships to support the army in its intended assault led to the abandonment of this siege and the ultimate failure of the expedition.⁵¹ By July Oglethorpe had withdrawn his troops and was once more back at Frederica.

The part played by the Indians in this expedition was an important one with which we are more concerned. Making up raiding parties they harassed the Spanish plantations and forced the owners to seek refuge in the forts. They cut off virtually all communication between St. Augustine and Apalache, which as we have indicated was accustomed to go from St. Augustine, to Fort St. Francis and thence to St. Marks. Montiano even wrote to Horcasitas complaining that he could not get news to or from Apalache because of the English Indians.⁵² In the siege of St. Augustine, the Creeks and other allies were of particular aid.⁵³ They drove the settlers from the surrounding territory into the city, helped to prevent supplies from reaching the city, cut off any Spaniards who wandered too far from the protection of the castle, fought the Yamassee Indians, aided in the taking of Fort Diego and Fort Moosa, rendered constant service as scouts and generally kept Oglethorpe informed of the movements of the enemy. The Indians had their limitations as fighters, but these were well understood by the Georgians. As Lieutenant Horton, later commander

⁵¹ Oglethorpe blamed the sea-officers, they blamed Oglethorpe, and Vanderdussen blamed both. Add. MSS. 32695, fo. 190, pp. 67-69, L. C. Transcripts.

⁵² Montiano to Horcasitas, May 13, 1740, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 52.

⁵³ Montiano estimated that towards the end of the siege Oglethorpe had one hundred thirty Indians assisting him. Montiano to the king, Aug. 9, 1740, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, p. 12, L. C. Transcripts.

at Frederica, explained to Egmont, the Indians were useful for fighting against the Spanish Indians and for ravaging Spanish farms, but they were of no use in besieging a town as regular troops, and would storm a breach only when the way was led by the English.⁵⁴

After Oglethorpe's unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine there was a breathing spell in the war. The Spaniards needed time to get ready for an offensive, while Oglethorpe having quarrelled with Colonel Vanderdussen and the South Carolinians over the conduct of the campaign was in no condition to undertake another attack. For a while the Indians also were less active, limiting themselves during the latter half of 1740 and the whole of 1741 to an occasional raid. In March 1741 the Yamassees attacked the plantation of Mark Carr, who later founded Sunbury, and killed several soldiers who were quartered there,⁵⁵ but there were few other examples of Indian outrages. The French and Spaniards again sent agents to the Creeks to try and overcome English opposition, but Oglethorpe countered this by dispatching Captain George Dunbar to hold the Indians in line.⁵⁶ Dunbar went from Frederica to Savannah where he talked with William Stephens and got what information Stephens had received about the situation from the Georgia traders. And about the same time fifteen Chickasaw warriors came to Savannah to assist Oglethorpe against the Spaniards and were sent by boat to join Oglethorpe at Frederica.⁵⁷ Other similar isolated incidents occurred but in general the Indians took little part in the quarrel between Georgia and Florida. One cogent reason for their inactivity was that the Creeks were now at war with the Cherokees, and both nations therefore had little time to give to the whites.

Though Spanish preparations for a counter-attack went forward slowly, the Spaniards were ready to march on Georgia by 1742.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Egmont's *Journal*, May 7, 1740, in *Ga. C. R.*, V, p. 349.

⁵⁵ Stephens' *Journal*, March 30, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 117.

⁵⁶ Stephens' *Journal*, April 20, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 128.

⁵⁷ Stephens' *Journal*, July 9, 1741, in *Ga. C. R.* supp. to IV, p. 190.

⁵⁸ Lt. Govr. William Bull of South Carolina wrote Lt. Govr. William Gooch of Virginia asking him to send help to Oglethorpe. C. O. 5: 1325, V. 25, L. C. Transcripts; C. O. 5: 1325, V. 26, L. C. Transcripts.

Remembering the 1739 insurrection at Stono, South Carolina, where the slaves had risen in revolt and murdered a number of whites, the Spaniards hoped that as soon as the negroes in South Carolina heard of their plans there would be another insurrection, but in this they were disappointed.⁵⁹ However, by June everything was ready and the Spanish fleet sailed for Frederica. The attack was met by Oglethorpe on St. Simons Island and the battle of Bloody Marsh was fought there with a victory for the English so decisive that it greatly added to the military reputation of Oglethorpe. The English followed this up in September by sending the fleet to St. Augustine, but it was unable to force an entrance.⁶⁰ In this Spanish attack the Indians were lined up much as they had been two years before, with the Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws on the English side,⁶¹ while only the Yamassee were faithful to the Spaniards.⁶² The part played by the Indians was also similar, for after the defeat of the Spanish on St. Simons Island, Oglethorpe sent Indian raiding parties after the retreating enemy.⁶³ These, however, were driven back.⁶⁴

During all this time the Creeks had been the chief thorn in the side of the Spaniards and they had made repeated efforts to win them from the English, though always without success. Moreover, in spite of the Creek-Cherokee war, the Creeks must have spared enough warriors at least to worry the Spaniards for in 1744 Montiano wrote to the king that the Creeks had been constantly harassing the Spaniards who were powerless to stop them.⁶⁵ The few Spaniards who lived outside St. Augustine had been driven in during the siege of 1740 and since then they had hardly dared go outside even to get wood for fear of being cut off by the redskins. Moreover the Spanish troops were no match for the Indians when it came to forest warfare and Montiano's resources were so feeble

⁵⁹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 126.

⁶⁰ Montiano to the king, Sept. 15, 1742, in Brooks Transcripts, 1740 to 1810.

⁶¹ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 282; XXIX, p. 184.

⁶² *Ibid.*; XXXV, p. 542.

⁶³ A Spanish sergeant stated that the woods around Frederica were so full of Indians that the devil himself could not get through. Add. MSS. 32699, fo. 543, L. C. Transcripts.

⁶⁴ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 97.

⁶⁵ Montiano to the King, March 15, 1744, in Brooks Transcripts, 1740 to 1810.

that he dared not attempt to crush the Creeks entirely, which seemed the only solution to the menace. He urged that the English who were responsible for the hostility of the Indians be removed by force of arms.⁶⁶ Montiano stated further that the Spanish Indians had been almost entirely destroyed by the Creeks and English, four of their eight towns having been razed in 1740, after which some of the Yamassees had taken refuge in the woods and others had moved away to the vicinity of Pensacola. As for the Creeks, he said, few of them failed to come to St. Augustine to get their presents out of the yearly allowance of six thousand dollars, but in spite of this there were no Indians who caused the Spanish as much uneasiness both in Apalache and St. Augustine. The secret of English control, he went on, was simple and could be told in a single word: presents. The English traders kept the Creeks liberally supplied with goods, and the Georgia officials from time to time made generous gifts to the Indians which kept them consistently loyal. The remedy which Montiano suggested for all these evils was two fold: to cast the English out completely, and until that could be accomplished, to beat them at their own game by supplying the Creeks with an abundance of presents.⁶⁷ This could easily be done, Montiano believed, if the king would simply order the royal company of Havana to keep its store at Havana well filled with the goods necessary for Indian trade, notably pistols, sabres, powder flasks, balls, flint stones, scissors, needles, combs, brass kettles, and the favorite red and gray paints, besides the inevitable whisky and tobacco.

After writing all these complaints and making all these suggestions Montiano took heart and girded his loins for new efforts with the Indians. This seemed especially important in light of the impending War of the Austrian Succession. He therefore invited a number of Creeks to visit him at St. Augustine and when they came, gave them liberal presents, promised them many more if they would support the Spaniards against the English and told them that the Squire, i.e. Oglethorpe, was too poor now to give

⁶⁶ Montiano to the King, March 15, 1744, in Brooks Transcripts, 1740 to 1810.

⁶⁷ *Idem.*

them any rich presents.⁶⁸ His efforts, however, were in vain, and one of the Indians, Smilly, went immediately to Oglethorpe and with Mary Musgrove as interpreter told all that had happened at St. Augustine. The French were making renewed efforts in behalf of their Spanish allies, sending word to the Creeks that if they dared give the English any further aid against the Spaniards the French would send a large party of Choctaws against the Creek towns.⁶⁹ These threats were no more successful than Montiano's promises for the Creeks' only reply was to turn to Oglethorpe and ask him for aid should their villages be attacked by enemy Indians.

The war opened in 1744 and the Spaniards continued their vain efforts to gain Creek loyalty, sending an agent to these Indians to urge a Spanish alliance upon them.⁷⁰ As Oglethorpe had so often done before him, Major Horton, now commander at Frederica, hearing of this turned to Mary Musgrove for help. Mary sent her slave Whonny back to Horton at Frederica with the promise that she would use her influence against the Spanish agent and this she did with such success that once more the Spanish efforts came to nothing. The English continued to hold their Indian allies, and in this new war proposed to follow the procedure made obvious by the geography of the district; they would send the Creeks and Cherokees against Florida, and the Chickasaws against Louisiana.⁷¹

During the same year the long discussed project of building up Apalache as a barrier against the English appeared at last to be on the verge of fulfillment. It had earlier, as we know, been proposed by Governor Benavides in 1725 and 1726. Governor Sanchez had repeated this in 1735,⁷² Governor Montiano had again urged it in 1740⁷³ and in the same year Castilla had evolved his feudalistic scheme for attracting settlers to Florida, a project strangely reminiscent of Sir Robert Montgomery's plan in his Margravate of

⁶⁸ Ga. C. R. (MS), XXXVI, p. 121.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 123-124.

⁷⁰ William Horton to Mrs. Mary Matthews, Feb. 19, 1744, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, p. 248.

⁷¹ Add. MSS. 32702, fo. 347, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷² A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-31, pp. 96-97, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷³ Montiano to Horcasitas, Jan. 31, 1740, in Ga. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, VII, pt. 1, p. 41.

Azilia.⁷⁴ Four years later Philip V had issued his royal decree authorizing the Royal Company of Havana to bring families from the Canary Islands to settle in Florida and especially in Apalache, whereupon Montiano urged that the families be sent directly to St. Augustine and not by way of Havana since if they stopped there they might be persuaded to settle in Cuba.⁷⁵ He also urged the extermination of the English as a necessary step to the success of this scheme. It began to look as if the Spaniards would colonize this territory properly at last and so hold the friendship of the Creeks by means of proximity and convenient trading posts. But as the war continued Montiano advised the king that the project be delayed until the end of the war, and so once more the plan was postponed.

The first years of the war saw the English still in control of the Creeks in the face of continued Spanish and French efforts to build up their own alliances with these people. One reason for this was the failure of the royal company of Havana to supply St. Augustine and St. Marks with the food and other necessities which Montiano had requested and which the king had accordingly ordered.⁷⁶ The Spaniards had therefore had no adequate trading goods to put against the English enticements, and the English continued supreme.⁷⁷ But in 1747 fate at last played into Spanish hands. The Creek-Cherokee war broke out, and since the Cherokees turned to the Georgians for help the Creeks naturally turned to the other side and sought help first from the French and then from the Spaniards. Holding a conference among themselves they decided to ask for Spanish alliance, and dispatched Topasico, one of their chiefs, to the commandant at St. Marks, Don Juan de Leon, to ask if the Spaniards would receive them.⁷⁸ Their plan was to send a delegation to Montiano at St. Augustine,

⁷⁴ Castilla to the king, Feb. 6, 1740, in Brooks Transcripts.

⁷⁵ Montiano to the king, Feb. 25, 1745, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo, 58-1-32, pp. 201-209, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷⁶ Montiano to Trivino, March 14, 1746, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, p. 291, L. C. Transcripts.

⁷⁷ Montiano to the king, March 14, 1746, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 294-295. Don Juan Isidoro de Leon, commandant at St. Marks, to Montiano, June 26, 1747, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, p. 320.

⁷⁸ Don Juan Isidoro de Leon to Montiano, June 26, 1747, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 312-313, in L. C. Transcripts.

by way of St. Marks, but they had been such bitter enemies of the Spaniards for so long that they felt unsure of a welcome. They might have spared their fears, however, for when de Leon wrote to Montiano to lay the matter before him Montiano eagerly jumped at the idea. He immediately wrote to Spain to ask for twelve thousand pesos to be spent on Indian presents for use when the Creek delegation arrived at St. Augustine.⁷⁹

The Creek delegation accordingly came down to St. Augustine and was received warmly by Montiano. A reason of course had to be given for seeking Spanish friendship at this late date and the reason they gave was as follows:⁸⁰ In the attack made on Fort Moosa by the English in 1740 several years before the Spaniards had taken a Creek named Nicholas prisoner, and then instead of putting him to death they had sent him home loaded with presents. This same Creek had come as ambassador to St. Augustine in 1747 accompanied by Malatchi and the two had been so well treated that they had gone home and urged the other Creeks to desert the English and join forces with the Spaniards. Montiano understood perfectly that the Creeks wanted a Spanish alliance not from love of the Spaniards but because they needed help in their war against the Cherokees and could not get it from the English. But he was far too wise to admit this or to reject the Creek offer of friendship, particularly as he observed that the delegation which had come to see him was made up of the very Indians who had been most active in opposing the Spaniards in the past. He believed that if this hostile group had been won over it should be easy to swing the rest of the nation into line. He understood the fickle nature of the Creeks and realized that they might desert him later but thought it worth while to make the alliance with them, however short a time it might last. At least it would give the colonists relief from Indian raids for a time and it was always possible that the alliance might prove of great advantage to Spain.⁸¹ The conference there-

⁷⁹ Montiano to the king, Aug. 3, 1747, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 303-312, L. C. Transcripts.

⁸⁰ Montiano to the king, March 15, 1748, in A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, pp. 329-330, L. C. Transcripts.

⁸¹ Montiano to the king, March 15, 1748, A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-32, p. 327, L. C. Transcripts.

fore was a success and though no formal treaty was made the Indian raids ceased during 1747 and 1748.

With the lull in the Cherokee war however in 1748 the need of the Creeks for the Spaniards grew less. At the same time the war between Spain and England also reached its conclusion. A lull followed with both white nations again working to win the Creeks' support though less vigorously than before, the need being now less urgent. Soon after, however, influenced by Mary Musgrove, the Creeks returned to their English allegiance and the temporary advantage gained by the Spanish was lost. In 1749 Mary Musgrove and some Creek warriors made a threatening descent on Savannah to demand that Mary's title to the three sea-islands of Sapelo, Ossabaw and St. Catherine's be acknowledged. The refusal of President Stephens to recognize Mary's claims and the bitter quarrel which ensued between Mary and the Savannah authorities alienated the Creek from her Georgia friends. In spite of this, the majority of the Creeks remained faithful to the English, and continued so in spite of the opening which the desertion of Mary gave for fresh Spanish intrigue.⁸² For the next three years Creek loyalty to the English continued. The Spaniards encouraged the Indians to steal English horses by offering to pay good prices for those brought them, and both the Spanish and French continued their devious attempts to persuade the Creeks to join them,⁸³ but when the Seven Years' War opened in 1756 the Georgians still regarded the Creeks as their chief barrier against Spanish attack.⁸⁴

⁸² Montiano was succeeded as governor of Florida in 1748 by Melchor de Navarrete. For the latter's correspondence with Spain, see A.G.I.—Santo Domingo—58-1-33, L. C. Transcripts.

⁸³ S. C. Indian Books, 1752-1753, III, p. 23.

⁸⁴ Memorial to the Trustees from the inhabitants of south Georgia, April 15, 1752, in Ga. C. R. (MS), XXVII, pp. 269-270.

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF AN ERA AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW REGIME

The Trustees' surrender of their charter was an extremely important event in the history of Georgia but the effects of that surrender were only gradually evident to the colonists themselves or to the surrounding Indians. The surrender of the charter was to lead not only to new officials and a new organization but to an entirely new policy of government, and this change was nowhere more evident than in the management of the Indians. Henceforth the Indians were to be regarded not as a separate people with whom it was necessary to maintain friendly trade relations and close war-time alliances, but as subjects of the crown whom it was necessary to keep satisfied and loyal if there were to be no outbreaks of rebellion. The change from the Indian's point of view was not very marked, for the royal governors who replaced the Trustees' Indian commissioners were wise enough to continue most of the customs which the early settlers had found efficacious in their dealings with the red men, but from the point of view of England the change was decisive. Their policy, in short, was no longer mercantile, but military. This change, however, like every other governmental move in the eighteenth century with its problems of communication and transportation, was a long time in coming about. There was a break of over two years between the last meeting of the Trustees and the arrival of the first royal governor and a break of nearly four years between the last meeting of the Trustees and the formulation of the royal plan of centralized Indian control which went into effect in 1756. In the meantime Georgia had to be governed and the problems of Indian control met as they arose.

By the terms of the Georgia charter the Trustees were to govern the colony for twenty-one years, which would have brought their period of control to an end in June, 1753. There was never any

question of their control continuing longer than that for one of the royal ideas in granting the charter originally was to secure the founding of a useful and possibly profitable colony which could later be annexed at no cost to the crown. The crown therefore was inevitably to assume control in 1753. But long before this the Trustees had become weary of their bargain. They had found little satisfaction in Georgia, their plans for a philanthropic Utopia had of necessity been abandoned¹ and when in 1751 they were refused the usual parliamentary appropriation for the maintenance of Georgia they were only too glad to abandon the whole project. They did, it is true, make a half hearted petition to the king, but when this was refused they began immediate negotiations² with the crown which resulted in the surrendering of their charter on June 23, 1752.

By direction of the king, the officials last appointed by the Trustees in Georgia were continued in office until a royal governor and the other necessary officials could be sent out.³ William Stephens was the last important president under the trustees. Because of advancing years, he gave up his office two years before they gave up their charter.⁴ The end of his influence was one of the many reasons why the interregnum was an unsettled one, for his prestige with the Indians had been great and was sorely missed. He was succeeded as president by Henry Parker,⁵ and when Parker died in 1752, he was in turn succeeded by Patrick Graham, a planter and prominent citizen of Savannah.⁶ Graham continued in office only until the arrival of John Reynolds, the first royal governor, in October 1754.⁷ Reynolds was a blunt and tactless man, formerly an officer in the British navy, who viewed his new office as essentially military in character, which of course was far from the case.⁸ He quarreled with his colleagues and alienated the Indians

¹ *Ga. C. R.*, I, pp. 54-62.

² *A.P.C.C.*, IV, No. 149, p. 123; *Journal of the Board of Trade*, VIII, p. 209.

³ *A.P.C.C.*, IV, No. 149, pp. 126-127.

⁴ *Ga. C. R.*, VI, pp. 332-333.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 369.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 375.

⁷ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, IX, p. 122; *Ga. C. R.*, VII, p. 9.

⁸ Corry, J. P., "Procedure in the Commons House of Assembly in Georgia," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XIII, (1929), pp. 110-127.

not only in the Bosomworth controversy but in many other matters and by the beginning of 1757 conditions were so bad that he was recalled.⁹

Georgia therefore in these transitional years was in the condition of unrest natural to a state under constantly changing leadership. There was the Trustees' Indian act still in force, yet with no force behind to lend it power.¹⁰ Waiting as it was for a royal proclamation to put an automatic end to it in 1754, the act inevitably fell into poor enforcement and confusion. Moreover, the Board of Trade in England, lacking the incentive which an influential and strong Georgia governor would have offered, began sadly to neglect the southern frontier of their American colonies and Georgia found itself without troops, adequate trading goods or even presents with which to hold Indian allegiance.¹¹ Added to this was the increased activity of the French and Spanish colonists among the Indians. Sensing the sure approach of war¹² they realized the value of the Indians as potential allies and persisted in their intrigues. These intrigues were as we shall see richly rewarded by the fickle red man as soon as he realized that the English had temporarily less to offer.

Two things, then, were inevitable in this period. It was certain that the importance of the red man as a source of trading supplies would become less and his value as a potential ally would become greater to all three colonizing nations. And it was natural that in the face of the adverse conditions above mentioned Georgia should shift from the aggressive expansive position she had held for the past twenty years to a defensive one.

These changes were not immediately apparent and during the first two years of the interregnum Indian allegiance continued much as it had in the past. It was in this time that de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, sent the third and last French expedition against the Chickasaws and was defeated.¹³ The defeat marked the

⁹ *Ga. C. R.*, VII, p. 485.

¹⁰ *A.P.C.C.*, IV, No. 149, pp. 126-127.

¹¹ *Ga. C. R.*, VII, p. 35.

¹² Baker-Crothers, Hayes, *Virginia and the French and Indian War*, stresses the Ohio region fur trade as a cause for the French and Indian War.

¹³ *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley to 1803*, edited by Surrey, Mrs. N. M. Miller, II, p. 1207, and Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana*, II, pp. 64-65.

end of any real effort on the part of the French to destroy the Chickasaws. Though de Vaudreuil and his successor Kerelac continued to send the Choctaws against their enemies¹⁴ and to annoy them in other petty ways nothing was accomplished. The English redoubled their efforts to strengthen their friendship with the Chickasaws, and the friendship persisted.

The Choctaws on the other hand remained, as before, loyal to the French. The Choctaw revolt had ended in 1750 with the complete victory of the French faction.¹⁵ The English continued to make sporadic efforts to gain Choctaw friendship, but these efforts were only feeble and the Choctaws never became their friends. Similarly the Yamassee remained as they had been before and were to continue for some time, allies of the Spanish. The Georgians made no efforts to win them over partly because they were too few in number to bother with, but chiefly because the Creeks hated the Yamassee and any English-Yamassee alliance would have imperilled British prestige among this powerful and dangerous people.

Trouble enough was already brewing among the Creeks. This had been in the wind since the descent of Mary Musgrove Bosomworth and her Creek warriors upon Savannah.¹⁶ Though this episode had injured Mary's prestige it had also injured the prestige of Georgia, and the Creeks had not since been as friendly as formerly. There was also trouble among the Cherokees though it was not to boil over until some years later. These difficulties were due more than anything else to a change in the attitude of Georgia, a change which though prompted by necessity was to be costly. Georgia, as we have said, had ceased to be aggressive. It was no longer holding firm its own alliances with one hand while reaching westward with the other to intrigue with French allies. Georgia was instead retrenching and finding itself hard put to hold the ground already won. This retrenchment, as we have said, was

¹⁴ Surrey, Mrs. N. M. Miller, *Calendar*, II, p. 1215.

¹⁵ Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series C-13, A. 35, 61-69, L. C. Transcripts. For the terms of the peace which Grand-Pré, commandant at Fort Tombekbe, forced on the Choctaws, see *ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ga. C. R.*, VI, pp. 252-280.

explained by the failure of the Board of Trade to provide adequate protection for the southern frontier, by the confusion attendant upon the constantly shifting authority in Savannah and by the coincident increase of French efforts among the Indians.

Georgia therefore was in no position to pay as much attention to the Cherokees as she had earlier but left all attempts to win them in South Carolinian hands. In 1753 the Carolinians built Fort Prince George in the lower Cherokee country opposite Keowee as a defense and to gain prestige among the Cherokees.¹⁷ The chief effect however turned out to be a stirring of the French to still greater activity and a heightening of the rivalry of the two nations. Georgia paid little heed to this rivalry but bent her attentions upon the Creeks, for in the years 1752 to 1754 the French and the Spaniards were gaining new successes with every day that passed. The French were particularly successful with the Upper Creeks, and made some headway even with the Lower Creeks. By 1754 the French were making great inroads toward winning both the Creeks and the Cherokees. Indeed so severe was the loss of Indian allegiance to the British at this time that had it been permanent it might have changed the entire history of the southeast.

In July 1754 the French commander of Fort Toulouse invited all the chiefs of the Upper Creeks to come to the fort for a conference.¹⁸ This they did, and after a parley were presented with presents. So effective were the presents that when the commander suggested that they go to Mobile for another parley they readily agreed.¹⁹ At Mobile Kerelac, governor of Louisiana, was waiting to greet them and present the French case. He showed the Creeks a letter, forged in red ink, and produced a captain whom he said was the bearer of the letter.²⁰ The letter, Kerelac explained, was from the governor of South Carolina and suggested that the French and English combine to destroy the Indians.²¹ Hoary though the device was, it was highly effective. When Kerelac continued by urging the Creeks to accept French protection and join them in

¹⁷ Hamer, P. M., "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Cherokee Country 1754-1757," in *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, II, (1925), pp. 303-322.

¹⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, VII, pp. 41-42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 39-40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 42.

attacking the English the Indians were temporarily at least won over.²² At the same time the Spaniards were meeting chiefs of the Lower Creeks at St. Marks, holding parley and persuading them against the English.²³

It is clear that when the interregnum in Georgia was terminated in October 1754 by the arrival of Governor Reynolds, there was dire need for a strong and wise leader. But Reynolds as we have already said was not such a leader. Moreover he was still lacking Indian presents or support of any kind from the Board of Trade.²⁴ Reynolds did what he could, however, and as soon as he assumed office turned his attention to the matter of the dangerous French intrigue among the Upper Creeks. The retiring président and assistants had voted the previous August to send what remaining presents they had to the faithful Chickasaws and Lower Creeks.²⁵ When Reynolds took office, presents to the Chickasaws had already been dispatched, but those to the Lower Creeks had not. Accordingly Governor Reynolds and his council, who had succeeded the assistants, now voted that these presents should not be sent, feeling that should the Upper Creeks learn of them they would expect similar treatment. The amount of presents was too small to divide, and the only solution was to send none at all. This reasoning was doubtless sound. It is however illustrative of the defensive attitude adopted by the colony that such a negative action was the best Reynolds could concoct to offset the French and Spanish activities.²⁶ Both he and the council realized that their first need was presents and supplies, but there seemed to be no way of acquiring them.

Insult was added to injury in January 1755, when Reynolds received a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state for the southern department asking that troops be raised for use against Canada.²⁷ The French and Indian War was then well in progress but it had not yet reached the limits of Georgia, though

²² *Ga. C. R.*, VII, pp. 39-40.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 33-34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 35, 42.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 20-21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 98.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 46-47.

news of it was everywhere. Reynolds presented this letter to the Assembly which advised him somewhat tartly that instead of being able to send recruits to aid the north, Georgia was sorely in need of regular troops for her own defense. Nevertheless the request for aid for the north was repeated the next month.²⁸

The lack of presents continued to be the chief weakness of Georgia. In March, 1755, for example, twenty-five Lower Creeks appeared at Savannah and asked for presents.²⁹ Reynolds was forced to tell them that none was available and gave them as a substitute guns, powder and balls to hunt with on their way home, a substitute which Georgia could scarcely spare at the time. Again a short time later George Galphin, the trader at Coweta, after much argument persuaded the Lower Creeks there not to go to Mobile or to St. Marks until they had visited Savannah.³⁰ He wrote Reynolds to tell him that the Indians were coming to Savannah and was told that there were not gifts available for the visitors. In May, 1755, twenty-eight Cherokees came to Savannah to pay their respects to the Georgia governor, but with the usual covetous gleam in their eyes.³¹ They were greeted warmly and told that presents were daily expected but had been delayed. This explanation, however, satisfied the Cherokees so little that they vented their resentment all along the way home by disorderly conduct.³² The following month some of the Chickasaws who had settled near Augusta paid a visit to Savannah.³³ Reynolds again made his evasive statement about the presents and in this case even promised to send them to Augusta as soon as they should arrive, but even these friendly Indians considered the lack as a personal slight and behaved insolently to all the whites they encountered on their return trip.³⁴

The French were clever enough to take advantage of this English scarcity and played up their own comparative abundance in

²⁸ *Ga. C. R.*, XVI, pp. 46-47.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 135.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 172-173.

³¹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 173.

³² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 179.

³³ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 182.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 206.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 211.

every way possible. In the spring of 1755, just when the English were having their greatest difficulties, they held another conference at Mobile with the Upper Creeks at which presents in plentiful supply were given out with large promises of more to follow.³⁶ The tables were reversed and, just as some years before the Indians had turned from the French to the English because of the better and more bountiful goods, now they turned from the English to the French.³⁷ The French doubtless considered it no more than just retribution, but the English felt that it was a definite menace to their safety.

All through 1755 the Indian visits continued only to end each time in the guests going away empty handed.³⁸ The threats of enmity became greater and the Georgians became seriously alarmed. Then in December came an episode which in the hands of an Oglethorpe might have swung the balance in favor of the English once more. A conference was called for the purpose of discussing the Bosomworth claims.³⁹ At this conference Reynolds was to meet both the Upper and Lower Creek chieftains at Augusta. Moreover a small supply of presents had at last been received. The stage seemed set for the governor by tactful words and friendly expansive gestures to restore the waning prestige of his people. But more through stupidity than through negligence Reynolds let the opportunity slide entirely. He remained at the conference only one day and then returned to Savannah leaving the work to be done by William Little, clerk of the assembly.⁴⁰ Little was no more skillful a man than Reynolds, for instead of swaying the conference he let it end in a vote to support the claims of the Bosomworths,⁴¹ a vote which Reynolds immediately repudiated upon hearing of it. The result was that the conference ended in increased hard feelings between the Creeks and the English.

News of French success with the Creeks continued to filter through the forests. The Georgians particularly at Augusta felt

³⁶ *Ga. C. R.*, VII, p. 173.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 251.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 268.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁰ *Journal of the Board of Trade*, January 1754 to December 1758, X, p. 391.

⁴¹ Bosomworth Controversy MSS., p. 51.

that a combined French and Creek attack was likely at any moment. The whole colony was on edge in the fear that something would happen to alienate the Creeks further. They felt that a small incident was all that was needed to precipitate a Creek war. Such an incident was inevitably forthcoming. In September of 1756 Edward Brown a settler on the Ogeechee had his horses stolen by some Upper Creeks.⁴² In a natural anger he got together seven of his neighbors and followed the thieving Indians. A fight resulted, and two Creeks were killed. These murders stirred the entire colony, for the colonists realized that the Creeks were bound to seek revenge. The settlements on the Ogeechee were abandoned. The settlers fled to Augusta for refuge, only to find that the fort there was in ruins from neglect and too small in any case to contain the refugees. Knowing that any real Indian attack could end only in massacre the people appealed to Reynolds for aid asking that he get men from South Carolina if necessary.⁴³ Now here was a crisis which Reynolds, military man that he was, could cope with. He immediately raised a company of seventy rangers and prepared for defense.⁴⁴ Yet the colony felt no great confidence for it realized that should the Creeks and the French attack in force it was doomed. Fortunately, before this could happen an Upper Creek chief, Oboylaco, came to Savannah and was received by Reynolds, his council and the assembly.⁴⁵ He was in a belligerent mood and demanded satisfaction for the murder of the two Creeks, but Reynolds for once showed a flash of diplomacy, for he explained that in the fight two white men had also been killed and thus a life already had been given for a life, and no further satisfaction was due. He also scraped together what he could in the way of presents, heaped them upon the Indian and promised his people, the Upper Creeks, every sort of English aid. The chief departed satisfied and the crisis was averted.⁴⁶ This did not mean however that the Upper Creeks had been won back to the English. They were still definitely hostile and more and more in the French in-

⁴² *Ga. C. R.*, VII, pp. 392-393.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 393-394.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 400; XVI, p. 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 419-420.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 420-425.

terest. By the end of 1756 the Georgians considered the Upper Creeks entirely lost as allies, for it was discovered that the Upper Creeks had made a treaty with the Choctaws promising them support and threatening to fight the Chickasaws if they did not join in war on Georgia and South Carolina.⁴⁷

In all this trouble there was one apparent bright spot. Word came to Georgia that the Carolinians and the Virginians had managed to induce the Cherokees to reaffirm their wavering allegiance. Georgia as we know had been unable to concern itself with these people but the news of continued French inroads upon the Cherokee loyalty had been extremely alarming. Now apparently all was well in that quarter. The Carolinians had continued their policy of building forts at strategic points and had begun to build Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee river in 1756.⁴⁸ The Virginians furthermore had erected another log fort in 1756 on the same river near Chotte, the chief of the Overhill towns.⁴⁹ By the end of that year the English appeared well established in Cherokee friendship. But this friendship was more apparent than real, for in spite of their vows of allegiance the Cherokees were listening with a willing ear to the French agents. The bloody Cherokee war of 1757-1761 was in the offing. Though all seemed calm, the Cherokees were like a volcano smouldering within, but giving off no warning signs of the impending eruption.

Meanwhile war was continuing in the north and going none too well for the English. Troops became a crying need, and in March 1756, Henry Fox, the secretary of state for the southern department wrote to Reynolds from London that the Earl of Loudoun had been appointed commander in chief of all the British forces in North America, and once more asked him to send recruits to Loudoun's aid.⁵⁰ But Georgia as we have seen was in no better position to give aid than before and when Reynolds referred this letter to the assembly they once more advised him that such a step was

⁴⁷ *Ga. C. R.*, XVI, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁸ Hamer, P. M., "Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee War, 1758-1761," in *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, II (1925), pp. 442-458.

⁴⁹ Hamer, P. M., "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Cherokee War, 1754-1757," in *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, II, (1925), pp. 303-322.

⁵⁰ *Ga. C. R.*, XVI, pp. 87-88.

impossible.⁵¹ In November Loudoun himself wrote to Reynolds telling of the fall of Oswego and declaring that Georgia would now probably have the weight of the entire French Indian power on its back.⁵² He warned Reynolds to put the Georgia frontiers in a state of defense and closed his letter by asking once more that Georgia send recruits to aid him. This last was of course out of the question and when Reynolds consulted the assembly they declared that far from being able to send troops they should receive them to aid in their own defense.⁵³

Conditions rested thus until the beginning of the next year and the recall of Reynolds who was replaced by Henry Ellis, an able man who was to take up the reins with a firm hand and once more swing the Creeks back toward English allegiance. Reynolds left Georgia with the Creeks alienated, the Cherokees though apparently friendly on the verge of revolt and only the distant Chickasaws still loyal to the English. He left Georgia poor and defenseless and fearful of attack from both the French and the Indians. But in spite of Reynolds' shortcomings as administrator his arrival had marked an important milestone in the history of Georgia for the entire character of the colony, at least from the point of view of government, was now changed. Under the Trustees the governing body for Georgia in England had been the Trustees themselves. It was they who had appointed the Indian Commissioner and the president, and to them that these Georgia officials were directly responsible. Fearing and disliking the Board of Trade and the Privy Council they had avoided contact with these bodies in every way possible. It was precisely because all laws passed by them required the approval of the Privy Council that they had passed so few laws,⁵⁴ and governed almost entirely by regulations.

When they gave up their charter however the control of Georgia passed immediately into the hands of the Board of Trade which was then at the height of its power under Halifax.⁵⁵ The

⁵¹ *Ga. C. R.*, XVI, p. 91.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 96-98.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 105.

⁵⁴ The Trustees passed only three laws, all of which received the royal approval in 1735.

⁵⁵ On this subject see Basye, A. H., *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, commonly known as the Board of Trade, 1748-1782*, Chap. II, "The Halifax Period, 1748-1761," pp. 32-104.

royal governor and his council were responsible to the Board of Trade and through it to the Privy Council and the king. In Indian matters the governor and the courts under him were thus responsible to the crown. Georgia had become a unit in the imperial scheme in a sense which it had not been before.

The new governor in dealing with the Indians naturally carried on many fundamental practices which had been found of value under the Trustees. The giving of Indian presents whenever they were available, the entertainment of the Indians, the use of the influence of the English traders among the Indians, and the holding of frequent parleys extolling the greatness of the English and their value to the Indians; all these were just as they had been in the time of Oglethorpe. But there were many changes as well. The royal governor when addressing the Indians spoke as a representative of the king, whereas the commissioner had always spoken as a representative of the Trustees. All presents were henceforth given in the name of the king and all advantages similarly so offered. Every effort was made to create the feeling among the Indians that the king was their natural ruler; a supreme benevolent being to whom they were subject, not a distant chief with whom they were allied. These efforts were not immediately successful in Georgia, but this was not due to any weakness of the fundamental policy. Other outside factors were clearly to blame: the opposing influence of the French and Spanish coupled with Georgia's temporary lack of goods and presents, the absence of any dynamic personality in control of Georgia Indian affairs, the unsettling effects of war.

Further and more radical changes came in 1756 and they were sorely needed. Georgia was ready to welcome any new system which would help to regain the support of the Indians, and Georgia was only one of the many colonies which felt this need. The failure of the Albany Congress, Braddock's defeat and the continuation of the war all pointed toward the need of a new and more centralized Indian policy in America. An imperial war was being waged and an imperial policy was the natural outcome. The English were no longer competing with the French for Indian trade or even Indian land; they were fighting for their very existence in America. The Indian was a very important figure in this con-

flict, and the English sought his aid in war even more eagerly than they had his trade in peace-time.

A plan was accordingly drawn up by which the Indians east of the Mississippi were arbitrarily divided into two administrative districts, a northern and a southern district with one central superintendent over each.⁵⁶ To these superintendents the royal governors who controlled the local Indian policies were responsible. They were to make reports and refer all difficult problems of Indian relations to them. In Georgia the actual workings of this plan were slow in coming about. Edmund Atkin, a South Carolinian, was made superintendent of the southern district within which Georgia naturally fell. He did not take office until 1758, and never made any real use of his position, but the framework of the organization was there, and the beginnings of a centralized control of the Indians had been made. Almost without their knowledge and certainly without their consent the red men had been transformed into subjects of the crown. Even as they roamed the forest and listened to the promises of the Frenchmen lines were being cast out with the purpose of binding them fast to England. This policy was to be pursued with vigor under the able John Stuart, but for the present it was enough that the organization had been formed. From 1756 to the close of the war the Indian superintendents and therefore the Indians themselves were under the control of the British military commanders. This might be considered only a natural war-time step, but in reality it struck deeper. Georgia had gone through a number of strenuous military crises under the Trustees, yet to them the Indians had been no more than potential allies. A change had taken place in the British Indian policy.

We shall leave the relations between Georgia and the Indians with the beginning of the new centralized policy and locally with the accession of Henry Ellis, the successor of Reynolds. Ellis was a most capable man and did much to draw the Indians back in line for Georgia but since his administration lies beyond the field of this thesis let us only mention one instance of his work, a conference

⁵⁶ On this subject see Shaw, Helen Louise, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1782*, pp. 3-4.

which was held by Ellis and Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina and Colonel Bouquet, commander of the King's forces in southern America, at Savannah in October 1757.⁵⁷ This conference which was attended by both the Creeks and the Cherokees did much to undo the evil wrought by the unsettled interregnum and bring the Creeks back to the English. It did not, as we know, regain the loyalty of the Cherokees, but it is interesting as being the final step which marked the change of Indian policy in Georgia from local and mercantile to imperial and military.

⁵⁷ Coulter, E. M., *A Short History of Georgia*, p. 83.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

Thus we have Georgia, a weak experimental colony, coming into being partly as a result of the idealism of a group of philanthropic Englishmen, but more as a result of the fear felt by South Carolina: fear of French and Spanish aggression, and especially fear of the Creek and Yamassee Indians whose territory bordered so closely on the settlement. The Yamassee had much earlier been driven back but their return was a constant menace to Carolina safety. The Creeks had for years lived in and around what was to be called the Georgia country and though the Carolinians had had fairly satisfactory trading arrangements with them, Creek raids and outrages had been frequent, the Creeks as we know being a fickle people. There had taken place earlier in the century the savage South Carolina-Yamassee war. Carolina therefore felt much safer with other white people interposed between itself and the undependable red men.

Georgia was established as a useful buffer to the richer more populous colony to the north, but Georgia had not been settled very long before the northern colony must have realized that this buffer, this tool of defense which it had urged the king to interpose between itself and southern dangers was a much more active and independent force than it had expected. Almost immediately instead of acting merely as an outpost of defense Georgia took steps to make of itself an emissary of peace. Meetings were held with the Creeks, treaties made, friendships won and from the first years of the settling of Georgia to the end of the Trustees' control there existed a Creek-English alliance, which though frequently strained was never for long entirely broken. And so in a different way from which it had expected Carolina received protection from the presence of Georgia but it was the protection of peace with the Creeks, not solely the protection of a defensive outpost. The

Yamacree, of course, having retreated further and further south to be near their allies the Spanish, were less a menace during this period than they had earlier been or than the Carolinas had expected them to be.

The Indian problem of Georgia was threefold: to gain the friendship of the Indians so that they should not resent the intrusion of the English upon their land and thus make it impossible for the colony to exist, to gain the alliance of the Indian in questions of war against the other and hostile whites further south, to gain the co-operation of the Indian in matters of trade. All of these problems, as we have seen, Georgia resolved admirably and in many ways more successfully than had the richer and more powerful Carolina. It made peace with the surrounding Indians and little by little through treaty and conference persuaded those Indians to cede in friendship to the whites large portions of their land. It won the support of the most powerful Indians of that district in time of war with Spain. Though in matters of trade it never surpassed or even equalled its more powerful neighbor Carolina and was vanquished in the legal controversy which this trade brought about, it still set itself up as a much more formidable rival than Carolina could possibly have expected and managed to keep a large proportion of the deerskin trade profits in its own small and somewhat puny hands.

There can be little doubt that the success of Georgia in all these matters was largely due to the power and personality of one man: Oglethorpe. It was through him that the policy of friendship, kindness and fairness to the Indians was carried out; he it was who made the treaties with them and who rallied them to his support in time of war. Equally important, it was he who evolved the method of controlling the valuable Creeks through setting up in their midst a figure of great prestige and influence who as the representative of the Trustees was able to sway the red men in whatever way Oglethorpe found necessary and expedient. In other words, Oglethorpe was not only a kind and just man, but also a very clever one. It is scarcely too strong to say that it was to Oglethorpe and thus indirectly to Georgia that Carolina and England owed the continued support of the Creeks and quite pos-

sibly therefore the control of the Georgia territory, for had the Creeks gone permanently over to the French and the Spanish as they so many times came near to doing, it is probable that the Cherokees would have also, and the English would have been very hard put to it indeed to hold this territory against the combined efforts of the French, Spanish and Indians. Though Oglethorpe left Georgia in 1743, thirteen years before the end of our period, it was his influence and the carrying out of his principles by his successors in matters of both war and peace that insured the success of the English among the southern red men. It might also be remarked that it was only after the end of Oglethorpe's control that such conflicts arose as those with Mary Musgrove Matthews Bosomworth, or that there was any serious danger of the loss of the Creek and Cherokee friendship.

But while giving Oglethorpe full credit for all he did with the Indians at this time we must not forget that one very important factor was working on his side, a material factor which appealed to the covetous instinct of the red men: the English had always a more bountiful supply of presents and trading goods and also a much more liberal policy in matters of payment for deerskins. It is certain that this factor alone was of tremendous importance in keeping the balance of Indian control in the hands of the English.

Opposed to the English in all matters of Indian control were the French in Louisiana and the Spanish in Florida. These two powers though originally rivals in the second decade of the eighteenth century, had by the time of the founding of Georgia drawn together for common support against the English whom they were beginning to see were a great menace to any other country wishing to keep its foothold in the new world. Each of these countries in the period with which we are concerned had conflicts with the English and especially with Georgia in matters of trade and in matters of war. Each of them was continually intriguing and scheming to take the control of the English-favoring Indians away from the English just as the English were constantly scheming and working to take the control of the French and Spanish Indians away from the French and Spanish.

With Spain, who as long as she retained her foothold in Florida

had the support of the Yamassees, the main question was one of Creek control. The reason for this was that the Creeks lived in and bordered on the territory between Florida and Georgia which was claimed and sought after by both colonies. As we have seen the Spanish were never successful for long, partly because of the superior and more plentiful trading goods of the English but also because the English were wont to employ direct and openly friendly methods with the Indians while the Spaniards relied more on threats and trickery. The Spanish relations with the Indians in this period therefore, except as far as the Yamassees were concerned, were as Montiano himself said in 1743 a matter of making much effort and having nothing to show for it.

The French had a more complex situation and presented a broader problem to the English. In the first place many more Indian nations were concerned, for the French and English were rivals for nearly every Indian nation in that district and through the whole period constantly intrigued each to take allies away from the other. The English constantly worked to lure the Choctaws away from the French, and a number of times nearly succeeded, while the French never ceased in their efforts to win the Creeks and the Cherokees away from the English, likewise with occasional periods of success. The French moreover spent many bloody years trying to exterminate the Chickasaws because they were lifelong allies of their enemies the English. The French problem was of course a matter of communication. Having colonies and possessions in both Louisiana and Canada the French ambition was to establish communications between the two by means of the Mississippi. In the path of this stood the Chickasaws and also to some extent the Creeks, both allies of the English. Through these two people the English worked constantly to keep the French from attaining their ambition and were entirely successful until shortly before the opening of the French and Indian war in the second half of the eighteenth century. The English feared French encirclement of their own colonies, which was one object the French had in mind. And so we have during this whole period a conflict between these two European nations with

the various Indian tribes used as pawns in a great game of international chess. By the beginning of the Seven Years War the French were probably as strong as they had ever been and as influential with the Indians but it is perhaps a victory to the English that they were no stronger and had got no further toward attaining their end.

With the French as with the Spaniards there were differences and similarities between theirs and those of the English methods of control. Again on the side of the English were the better trading goods and more plentiful presents, and the more friendly tactics. But on the side of the French was a keen understanding of Indian personality which showed itself in their manner of intrigue and the fact that they so many times nearly won the English allies over to their side. Points of similarity are perhaps more numerous and it is amusing to see how frequently the same methods crop up in different places, used by different nations against different Indian tribes. There was the so frequently told story that the enemy was only using the Indian as a tool to conquer an opposing Indian tribe after which the whites intended to destroy their red allies. This the French used with the Creeks, and the English used with the Choctaws. There was the argument so frequently used by the minority side with the Indians: why not trade with both nations and therefore gain twice as many presents and profits? This was used by the French among the Cherokees, the English among the Choctaws, the Spaniards among the Creeks. There were the constant attempts to injure the prestige of the opposing white men, and the constant attempts of all three nations to play on the Creeks' desire to keep the balance of power.

Through all this the Indian stands out as a race of fickle changeable people, and the Indian background against which the three European nations played their little games is a constantly shifting one. The Indian friend of today was the Indian enemy of tomorrow and even with the most loyal of allies constant efforts had to be made to keep bright the chain of friendship, and to keep down all attempts to weld a counter chain of friendship in another direction.

The story of Georgia, in the years we have under consideration, is only a part of the much larger story of the westward expansion

of a great people, and this must never be lost sight of in the consideration of local interests. Georgia was a military outpost, it is true, but it was also a growing and expanding colony, extending its settlements up the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and spreading them southward along the coast from Tybee Island to St. Simons Island. Georgia traders were ranging the forest from Savannah to the Choctaw and Chickasaw villages in the west and the towns of the Lower Creeks in the south. The restless spirit which caused Oglethorpe to lead his first shipload of Georgians into the wilderness also animated the settlers who followed in the wake of these pioneers. The movement was only beginning by 1756 and was not to reach its height until decades later, but it was a sturdy beginning.

Both the French and Spanish recognized the danger of this expansionist movement. Bienville had recognized the danger to Louisiana as soon as he heard of the founding of the colony and had warned his countrymen of it in 1733. The Spaniards also were alert to the threat against their interests which the establishment of Georgia offered and tried desperately to destroy the new colony before it grew too strong to be crushed. But English courage and resourcefulness, coupled with fortunate circumstances prevailed, and Georgia remained to fulfil its destiny, to expand to the west and to see both Louisiana and Florida pass under the same flag as itself.

Throughout the period we have studied, the international rivalry in the southeast steadily increased in activity and volume. Intrigue for the support of the red man was incessant. His value was immeasurable in matters of trade, expansion, and war, and as the war clouds gathered more darkly in the middle of the century the Indian played a role of increasing importance. He was the key-stone for three rival ambitions: the French hope of encirclement, the Spanish claims to the territory of Georgia, and the restless urge of the English for westward expansion. The French ambition was never realized, Spain's title was never made good, but the wave of English expansion continued southward and westward, an expansion which was made possible only by the achievements of the Georgia settlers in winning and holding the allegiance of the Indians in these early years.

ABBREVIATIONS

C. O.—Colonial Office

H. M. Stationery Office—His Majesty's Stationery Office

L. C.—Library of Congress

Map Div.—Map Division

S. P. G.—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

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Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts †

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* Documents in these archives are cited from transcripts in the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division. See Surrey, N. M. Miller, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley to 1803*. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, I, 1926; II, 1928.

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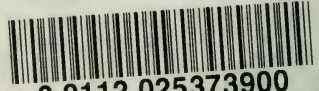
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